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CONTENTS OF VOLUME X.

The Musical and Literary Organizations and their leaders of Landisville and vicinity. By D. B. LANDIS 3
Minutes of the January meeting 29
Annual report of the Secretary 32
Annual report of the Librarian 37
Annual report of the Treasurer 40
The Flight of an Empress. By JOSEPH HENRY DUBBS, D.D., LL.D. 41
Minutes of the February meeting 56
The Social Life of Washington. By JOSEPH HENRY DUBBS, D.D., LL.D. 59
Major James Hamilton, of the Pennsylvania Line. By MARTHA B. CLARK 71
Minutes of the March meeting 90
Washington at Lancaster. By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D. 93
Some Old Documents. By FRANK ELSER SCHNERER 109
An Early Lancaster Theatre. By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D. 114
Extract from an Old Will 120
Minutes of the April meeting 123
Commodore John Barry. By R. M. REILLY, ESQ. 126
An Early Road Petition. By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D. 145
Governor Wood of Virginia. By GEORGE STEINMAN 157
A Thomas Barton Letter. By MISS MARTHA B. CLARK 162
A Buchanan Myth. By HON. W. U. HENSEL 169
Minutes of the May meeting 173
Odds and Ends of Local History. By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D. 181
Pennsylvania-German or Pennsylvania Dutch. By R. K. BUEHRLE, PH.D. 216
Minutes of the June meeting 222
Charter of the Society 225
Constitution and By-Laws 230
List of Officers 235
List of Members 236
Thaddeus Stevens as a Country Lawyer. By. HON. W. U. HENSEL 247
Our Last Fulling Mill. By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D. 295
Notes on Colonel Houssegger. By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D. 304
Our Society's Annual Outing. By the SECRETARY 310

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The Musical and Literary Organizations and their Leaders of Landisville and Vicinity, - - - - - - 3
By D. B. Landis.

Minutes of the January Meeting, - - - - - - - 29

Annual Report of the Secretary, - - - - - - - 32

Annual Report of the Librarian, - - - . - - 37

Annual Report of the Treasurer, - - - - - - 40

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

The Musical and Literary Organizations and their Leaders of Landisville and Vicinity.

In preparing this, my fourth paper of original data on local historical research, I confess that it proved to be "up-hill" work, indeed; yet, from a mass of memories, much valuable matter has been brought forth; and if there are omissions of names or dates, the simple statement that the writer's present knowledge is lacking in the essential details should suffice.

An Old Meeting-House.

The oldest landmark existing to-day at Landisville having anything to do with the subject in hand is the Old Mennonite Meeting-house, built of logs, about the year 1790. This ancient edifice is in an excellent state of preservation, being occupied at present (and for many years past) by the sexton of the Old Mennonite congregation, Benjamin Brown, and standing directly in the rear of the regular brick structure, erected half a century later, in 1850.

In the old log meeting-house, during times of worship, were used the hymns then existing as printed in small German and English books. The singing was slow and sure, being announced in lines, and sonorously carried out in the various stanzas. For many years this unpretentious place, with its unpainted seats, sheltered a pious, plain-clothed people, who sang their hymns in good old-fashioned ways,not ashamed or afraid to dwell a little longer than seemed necessary on the original notes of some much-used metre.

ARMSTRONG

There is no doubt whatever that some of the later musical talent of this locality, to some extent, was developed from this modest beginning, for not a few Mennonites of the present period are excellent singers, using

OLD MENNONITE MEETING HOUSE

Built 1790; size, 31x36 feet.

note-books of musical merit; and the aged Bishop Jacob N. Brubacher (of near Mount Joy) can yet be regularly heard in hymns of tuneful harmony at the brick building, close by the log house standing there fully one hundred and fifteen years.

How Landisville Came Into Existence.

In the spring of 1829, John Landis established a store (occupied lately by Frederick Metzger, deceased), and with his son, John C., who was a surveyor, laid out a village which they named "Centreville," from the fact that it was equa-distant from Lancaster and Mt. Joy. About 1832 John Landis applied for a postoffice, and the department in granting this request took the liberty of renaming the place "Landisville," as there already

existed a Centreville office in Centre county.

The Minnichs also had much to do with the original start of this settlement. Jacob Minnich, in 1798, erected the first house in the eastern part of the place, and in 1808 built a two-story hotel on the north side of the old Harrisburg pike.

Among those who attended John Beck's brilliant Academy for Boys at Lititz were John C. Landis (from 1823 to 1825), grandfather of the writer, who accomplished much for the village which he later laid out; having taken charge of his father's store, serving as postmaster, doing scrivening and surveying, and conducting a small marble yard, etc. He died in 1854, aged forty-six years, in the very acme of his usefulness.

The Old Public School.

Prior to 1830 some of the children of the neighborhood received their education from traveling pedagogues of the Yankee type, blunt but wise wielders of the whip and goose-quill pen.

The old log meeting-house was used for a while as a school, when the first public school building was erected between the present brick meeting-house of the Old Mennonites and the Bethel Church on the hill. This public school building nurtured some of the singers and musicians that afterward distinguished Landisville; and my father frequently, during his life, referred to his pleasant experiences there. One of the characteristic songs of that period was "I Love to Go to Public School."

The old public school building was torn down in the early seventies. Evidences of the stone foundations are yet to be seen on the hill, in what is now the north side of the Old Menno-

nite churchyard. Since the schoolhouse was removed, two graded, brick buildings on the opposite side of the street were erected and used for school purposes; and even these buildings may soon be replaced by a large and more modern structure.

Noted Teachers Prior to 1860.

L. M. Hobbs was among the ablest early instructors in Landisville's first public school. He taught the pupils many practical things by his own progressive methods. Mr. Hobbs afterward started an academy at Millersville, which, I am informed, became the nucleus of the noted Normal School, first of its kind in the Keystone State, and of which he was its early steward.

Daniel S. Bare (now deceased), at one time a saddler of East Petersburg, and later a steward at the Millersville Normal School, taught a singing school at Landisville about 1850, making it one of the first schools of this kind at that place. A daughter of his became the wife of Israel S. Clare, the historian.

William D. Reitzel, of Salunga, was one of the best teachers in the old public school at Landisville. He was a man of fine musical and literary attainments, and did much then and afterwards for the all-around education of the young men of East Hempfield. He also taught school in the old building at one time standing near his home in Salunga.

Along with the advent of the public schools, debating societies were formed, fostered and popularized. Some of these existed in Landisville about 1840 to 1845, as recalled by Samuel L. Hartman, who informs me, also, that Prof. Kemerer, an itinerant schoolmaster, taught juvenile classes with the rudiments of music in many

portions of this city and county. Mr. Hartman's sister, Anna E., thus became interested in voice culture; afterward a student at Millersville and one of the two first lady graduates from the Normal School. Miss Hartman subsequently was first assistant teacher of the Girls' High School, Lancaster, and among the branches taught was music.

The Bethel Church of God.

Prominent among those who organized the Bethel congregation of the Church of God, about 1840 (founded by John Winebrenner), at Landisville, were Jacob H. Hershey, of Rohrerstown (father of Andrew H. Hershey, of The New Era; John C. Landis, father of the late Israel C. Landis), and others. In 1843 a frame house of worship was erected.

BETHEL CHURCH.

Built 1843; size, 28x43 feet.

A great many revivals have since been held there, and through the musical influence of this old church-home, probably as much as any one source, Landisville became known as

a field for musical and literary effort. Of this early period I possess my grandmother's hymnbook of "Evangelical Music," with notes, dated, 1841; also two other small leather-covered "Revival Hymn Books," bearing dates of 1841 and 1845, respectively; these latter were carried by Grandfather John C. Landis (who was especially fond of church music), and he frequently entertained Elder Winebrenner, of Harrisburg, at his home.

The Bethel Church was remodeled to its present appearance during the winter of 1877-78, and somewhat enlarged and considerably improved during the pastorate of Rev. F. L. Nicodemus.

The present minister is Rev. Harvey S. Hershey, being one of the several young men who have entered the ministry from Landisville within recent years. The others are Rev. Peter H. Hershey, one time stationed at Harrisburg, and Rev. F. K. Baker, now professor of theology in Findlay College, Ohio; besides Miss Viola Hershey, a missionary in India; and Rev. Chas. F. Reitzel, Salunga, now located at Mt. Joy.

The Reformed Mennonites first held their services in the old Bethel Church at Landisville, until they erected the present brick structure of their own, east of the village, in 1869.

During the fall of 1843 were culminated the Millerite exercises in the encampment on Jacob Gamber's farm, south of Landisville, a minute account of which was given in one of my previous papers. At that place religious revivals came to their highest pitch, with full use of the many hymns suited to such occasions.

Landisville's First Brass Band.

A number of the young men who had been previously active in musical

and literary circles of the vicinity organized the "Mechanicks' Band of Landisville," on September 4, 1858, with these officers: W. D. Reitzel, President; E. D. Golden, Vice President; Em'l Newcomer, Secretary; J. B. Kern, Treasurer. Twelve members composed the full band: W. D. Reitzel, G. W. Sener, Emanuel Newcomer, C. H. Newcomer, Jacob Souders, J. B. Kern, J. J. Golden, E. D. Golden, I. C. Landis, Solomon Seamer, Reuben Pickel and Daniel Kern. Three other names appeared on the roll of membership: Joseph Musselman, Daniel M. Brown and Christian H. Mayer.

The band first met in an old log building, since torn down, then occupied as a cooper establishment and shoe shop combined; John B. Kern, one of the members, being the shoemaker. This building adjoined the present residences of Ed. Kline and Mrs. Dissinger, on the south side of Main street in the east end. Afterward the band had its quarters on tne second story of a new building erected by Israel C. Landis as a restaurant, on the north side of the same street, a little farther west from the first location. This building is at present owned by Mr. Minnich.

Considering the influence made at that time and since felt, at Landisville, I will record in detail a slight history of its membership. The famous Kevinski, of Lancaster, was its teacher. The professor's father soon after coming to that city, in 1837, established a brass band, "which gained a wide reputation for fine music." He organized many brass bands, of which he served as director. My father stated that J. B. Kevinski, however, was the teacher of the Landisville Band. The latter did excellent teaching in Lancaster's public schools, passing away Thanksgiving Day, 1905.

Biography of the Band's Members.

W. D. Reitzel, referred to previously, leader of the Landisville Band, was a natural musician, full of vigor and enthusiasm. He afterward became a Captain in the Civil War, and was well-known as a forceful debater and polished speech-maker. His literary genius, too, was strongly developed. In his early life he wrote acceptably for the press, both in prose and poetry. He died at Salunga some years since, in a political campaign, when he all but reached the Legislature. One of his sons, Quintin O., immediately fell into line for this office, and won the place easily. The Reitzel children have inherited the father's pleasing proclivities.

George W. Sener, a leading cornetist, was a carpenter by trade. He now resides in Philadelphia. Emanuel Newcomer, another band member, lives at Columbia.

Christian H. Newcomer, who played the second B flat, has lived continuously at Landisville, and became known for his enterprise in establishing and keeping the Railroad Crossing Hotel, opposite the station. A number of years ago he enlarged this building, and now manages the place as a temperance boarding house and store. His only son, Morris, conducts a mammoth department store in Knoxville, Tenn., which is constantly growing. Mr. Newcomer takes a great interest in the present Bethel congregation.

Jacob Souders became an expert carpenter and contractor in after years, and built some fine houses at Rohrerstown. Both he and his eldest son, Gabriel, are yet engaged in carpentry at Lancaster.

John B. Kern carried on shoemaking, besides being postmaster at Landisville for many years. He was skilled

in his line. The shoe business is at present conducted by his son, John M., in a remodeled building, since the father's demise, some years ago.

Both J. J. and E. D. Golden removed to Iowa many years since. The latter was a carpenter. I think one of the Goldens is now deceased.

Israel C. Landis, the last Secretary [1] of the Mechanics' Band, was its tenor drummer. This finely-preserved drum is now in my possession. The drum sticks have some handiwork in German silver, done by John Mose, then employed in Landisville. My father was very fond of band and marching music; he always beat his drum with precision and spirit. I owe much to his honest enthusiasm and modest willingness to aid in making our homelife more than a mere aim for money; much, indeed, for his truthful versions of oldtime happenings, which I have in part recorded in various publications. Now that he is mingled with the silent majority (having died suddenly on May 13th last, while engaged to the very last at his life-long occupation of general merchandising), need it be stated that his loss is keenly felt by me in every sense.

Solomon Seamer, another band member, lives at Kinderhook, West Hempfield township. Reuben Pickel, who played a bass horn, lived at the extreme eastern end of Landisville for many years. He was a tobacco buyer and is now deceased.

Daniel Kern was a carpenter and carpet weaver, with a shop near Mr. Pickel's home. Many of the good old home-made carpets were woven by Mr. Kern at his place, where the writer often observed him move his shuttles back and forth in mystic motion, knit-

[1] Mr. Landis' permanent certificate of honorary membership is now in the possession of his son.

ting together the fascinating stripes of "chain" around well-sewed carpet rags. He has also gone to his rest.

Joseph Musselman is yet a carpenter at Landisville. He worthily manages the campmeeting grove; besides being a modest worker with his wife in the spiritual interests of the Bethel Church.

Christian H. Mayer resides at Lancaster; and of Daniel M. Brown, an associate member of this band, I have failed to get his after record.

The Mechanics' Band terminated its career, after having had a flourishing existence, in 1863, caused by the Civil War taking some of its ablest members to the front. The Mountville Band purchased the band wagon from the Landisville people, and some of its instruments, and since then Mountville has had its band organization. Silver Spring, close by, also early had a band, and it, too, has continued its active life.

My father possessed the minutes of the old Landisville Band, yet within the past year I have been unable to find them, and these interesting records are probably destroyed. This band was the forerunner and stimulus to the present one, of which I shall treat further on.

Sketch of a Model Teacher.

The real home musical and literary meetings of Landisville and Salunga were developed to a high degree in the personality of one man, yet living, who resides at the latter place, in the meridian of his many joyful, useful years. That A. B. Kreider has done very much for the musical and literary circles of East and West Hempfield townships no one can question. Starting at school teaching, in Oak Grove, he kept this school from 1864 to 1869. His natural aptness for music led

him to improve himself during all spare hours he could snatch from his work. From 1869 to 1871 he next taught at Airy Vale; and then, in the fall of 1872, when the present Maple Grove school house was built, his real destiny assumed shape.

Here, at this house, the writer spent three thrifty and delightful years under the tutelage of this preceptor. There were no organs or pianos in the public schools of the locality in those days, but Mr. Kreider possessed a melodeon, which was the means of making many public entertainments successful. This melodeon was gotten in 1864 from Mr. Steinhauser, and is yet possessed by Mr. Kreider, although no longer in use.

This teacher was the McCaskey of his time and place, tirelessly training the young with all he knew; and, in music, happily tuning his vocal chords with the fork he ever held in hand. Study became a pleasure under his own spirited, willing service and direction. He was the best-booked student of his pupils, discerning their character as from an open page; and more than one has since achieved prominence in similar pursuits.

Prior to 1870 Mr. Kreider organized a "Home Circle," which held fascinating meetings of song and literary features at various prominent homes in the neighborhood.

In 1871 he organized a literary society at Salunga and kept this in existence until the close of his teaching, eighteen years after, in Maple Grove School. He also had a music class for the same length of time, besides successfully leading in singing on many occasions at the Bethel Church and assisting during the Landisville camp-meeting. He yet directs the music at Salunga M. E. Church, with the help of Fred. E. Jaessing, organist, who has been with him since 1880.

The Temperance Movement.

Through the influence of Mr. Kreider, J. H. Hoofstitler, of Sterling, Ill., (formerly of Salunga), gave five successive lectures on temperance at Maple Grove School, in the early seventies, and this was the direct cause of an unusual outbreak in the great temperance work accomplished at Salunga, resulting in the formation of the Landisville and Salunga Temperance Society, which had an active existence for some years.

In 1882 the Union Temperance Society was organized and held its meetings in the Landisville Bethel Church. Rev. G. W. Fraser was one of its active officers. This society kept up its spirit until the summer of 1886.

At present the Woman's C. T. U. is represented at Landisville and Salunga by Miss Lillie Hershey, President (a most zealous worker), and Mrs. Mary C. Trout, Corresponding Secretary. This union meets monthly at the homes of its members.

Other Teachers of Music.

Luriston B. Herr taught a successful singing school in the school house at Centreville, where a number of ladies and gentlemen attended in 1877; he also taught singing at various times near Landisville, East Petersburg, Manheim and other nearby towns. He is now recognized in a business way as L. B. Herr, stationer, Lancaster city.

From about 1882 to 1885 Barton Sharp conducted music in the Landisville schools at various times, being a popular young leader and school teacher. He is now in the railway mail service.

In 1884 the Salunga Singing Class[1] was in its busy days. An extended

[1] From the Landisville Vigil, March 10, 1884.

programme covering two evenings, March 28 and 29 of that year, was well rendered, the proceeds being given to the Landisville and Salunga Library Association.

In 1886 a small musical club, known as the Landisville Orchestra, had a brief lease of life.

Professor Keeney, a gifted vocal musical leader, from Manheim, taught a singing class at Rohrerstown, and also at the Independence School, below Bamford, during several terms, some years ago, in school months.

Yet others being interested in music at Landisville since then have been Rev. Peter Hershey, at the Old Mennonite Sunday-school, in the latter eighties; and Rev. Hiram Kauffman leads the Old Mennonite Singing School of the present period; Bishop Jacob N. Brubacher and Amos Greider, of the same church, being devotees of sacred music. David B. and Dalvin D. Sanders have done a great deal for music in the Bethel Church, together with Miss Lillie Hershey, and others.

Pianos and Recitals.

Since about 1876 organs have been introduced in many homes of the vicinity, and for the past dozen years pianos have partly taken the place of organs, owing to classical instruction by skilled teachers being obtainable. 'Twas only a few months since when the schools of East Petersburg and Landisville were presented with pianos in a newspaper contest, from programmes rendered of a high order, assisted by the noted Madame Schlismann and Miss Mary Bowman. Piano recitals have likewise been given at homes of students, a fine one being presented last June by the pupils of Miss Mary E. Shenck, at the residence of Mrs. Jacob M. Trout.

The Famous Camp Ground.

Landisville in recent times has possibly become more popularly known by its sheltering the annual Methodist campmeeting than from any other single source. [3] About 1870 the Landisville Campmeeting Association was formed, and a tract of ideal, virgin woodland, lying close to the south side of the village, was bought from Dr. Andrew Kauffman. This grove was tastefully fitted up, and since improved with convenient and handsome cottages and suitable buildings for spiritual worship. It has been the scene of wonderful religious revivals, and has had most stirring musical exercises.

Well do I recall the sweet songs of Professor Kirkpatrick and Doctor Sweeney, two composers and leaders of more than ordinary merit. The singing at Landisville campmeeting in the latter seventies and early eighties was of a magnifying, soul-stirring order, with nothing since to quite duplicate it, although Dr. J. L. Withrow, Miss Lizzie Sharp and others have accomplished splendid results for the camp song services. I predict great popularity for the future of this continuous yearly campmeeting, since it now has three railroad inlets—the Pennsylvania Railroad, Reading and Columbia Railroad and the new Conestoga Traction line directly in front of the famous grounds.

The Church of God also held campmeetings on these same grounds, later in the season, during 1885 and 1886. This church now owns its own campwoods at Central Manor, and its annual services are growing in interest.

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[3] From "Sketch of Camp-Meetings," in "The Landis Family of Lancaster County," 1888.

Methodist Music Books.

The music books introduced each year at the Landisville campmeeting have been a great aid and constant comfort to many attending there. The Sunday-schools of the neighborhood were also provided and inspired by an almost annual change of music books.

"Pure Gold" was among the best-known singing books used in 1873 at Salunga. Through Mr. Kreider's tactful teaching I can remember, and sing most of these songs to-day. Among other books frequently used in singing schools and the campmeeting during the seventies were: "Song Treasury," by J. H. Kurzenknabe; "Brightest and Best," "Every Sabbath," "Sunshine," "Starry Crown," etc.

Later Bands of Music.

Directly after the Centennial era a brass band was organized at the zinc works, Bamfordville, of which Chas. Bamford's son, a full-fledged Englishman, was a conspicuous member. Frank Watson, of Landisville, and William Clegg, a cornetist, belonged to this band, which enlivened the mining settlement for a few seasons.

On November 1, 1889, the Landisville Cornet Band came into being, with the following members: W. H. Kern, B. G. Kern, M. D. Kern, L. H. Mease, Henry Harry, W. J. Hoffman, M. M. Frank, R. P. Swarr, Henry Souders, Milton Root, D. W. Baker, D. S. Martin, Philip Dattisman, Harry Dattisman, Edwin Barto, E. C. Diffenderfer, Al. G. Dissinger, H. J. Dissinger, C. H. Long and William Seifert.

The band for three years had its quarters over Jacob Rutt's cigar factory (since removed), near the pike at the Reading Railroad, and for the next four years in Breneiser's carpenter shop. The band was chartered May 1, 1891. For several years

this band held largely-attended fairs for weeks at a time, some of these being in the basement of what is now Ezra Miller's grain warehouse. About twelve years since,through the liberality of R. P. Swarr and others, a lot of ground was secured in the centre of the town, and later a band hall was erected in November, 1899. This is now a place for general town meetings and entertainments. L. H. Mease is the secretary of the band. Several of the members are descended from some of those who made up the former "Mechanics' Band," viz.: Harry and Samuel Pickel, William, Byron and Milton Kern.

Village rivalry, to a certain extent, produced another excellent cornet band close by, at Salunga, which was organized in September, 1896, by H. K. Way, a talented musician, with sixteen members. The band was incorporated in 1903, with these charter members: H. K. Way, musical director and solo cornetist; Dallas Weidman, Oscar Way, John Aston, Albert Hiestand, Allen Keller, Arthur Diffenderfer, William Habecker, John Weidman, William Myers, Eugene Diffenderfer, and Frank Montooth.

The present membership consists of twenty men, as follows: H. K. Way, director and clarionetist; Dallas Weidman, solo B flat cornet; Oscar Way, E flat cornet; Allen Way, first cornet; John Way, baritone; William Way, E flat bass; Edgar Diffenderfer, E flat bass; Allen Keller, second trombone; Arthur Diffenderfer, first slide-trombone; Frank Montooth, third trombone; Albert Hiestand, baritone; Henry Hiestand, solo alto; Charles Myers, second alto; William Habecker, third alto; Frank While, fourth alto; Harry Musselman, bass drum; Edgar Way, snare drum.

Mr. Way, the director, is a fine clar-

ionetist and cornetist, and gives instructions on brass and reed instruments. He taught three of his sons music in their early days, making up quite a musical family.

Rohrerstown also had a brass band, organized about 1894. Its first fairs were among the most successful ever held in these parts. This band was located in Stehman's warehouse (which building was afterward consumed by fire), and the musical organization continued its career about four or five years, when it disbanded.

Prominent Educators Since 1865.

In addition to the public school teachers already mentioned, dwelling more particularly on their literary ability, may be noted the following:

A. Haldeman, recognized as "Abe," taught several schools in East and West Hempfield townships, from about 1865 to 1880, or for a quarter of a century. He instructed the Lake Mill School, south of Landisville, at one time. He belonged rather to the old Yankee style of pedagogues, understood his vocation and was a decidedly strict disciplinarian. Many there are who remember his vigorous work. Mr. Haldeman, like Captain Reitzel, was a man of commanding presence and a fine speech-maker during political campaigns. He now resides on a farm in another part of the county.

H. G. Newcomer, of Rohrerstown, is another long-time teacher, having served in that capacity since the war for even a greater period than Mr. Haldeman. He was one of the last teachers I can remember as making goose-quill pens, in 1868; and my first home-made copy-book was written by these flexible reminders of earlier days. He was a firm believer in merit and rewarded his pupils accordingly. His teaching produced

good results. He resides on Woods street, Rohrerstown, at the present writing.

A. R. Stamy taught the Oak Grove School, northeast of Landisville, in the seventies, doing effective work; and later became identified with Lancaster's schools, being at present well known as the principal of the Lemon street school.

Prof. John H. Shenck, one of Mr. Kreider's ablest common school pupils at Salunga, in 1872-'73, early entered the teaching arena and had schools in different parts of the Hempfields; afterward becoming principal of the Manheim schools, and later of the Marietta public schools. He has been an intelligent, exemplary instructor.

Miss M. Kate Swartley (Mrs. Smith) very acceptably taught the Landisville Primary School for a number of years close to 1880. She was a lady of refined literary ability.

Morris Metzger, of Centreville, was a popular teacher of this period. He has been continuously in the teaching harness, and is now a professor in the public schools in the upper end of the county.

Phares W. Baker became an active teacher in the early eighties, and taught at Rohrerstown and Landisville for more than a decade of years. He was at the same time identified with literary societies and school interests generally. He is now located in Landisville, carrying on an extensive tobacco packing business.

H. L. Fenstermacher, of Rohrerstown, began teaching in 1887, thus continuing for twelve years; he was a close tactician in his calling, and did effective teaching in nearby townships. He is now in the railway mail service.

List of Literary Societies.

The earliest literary societies at Landisville were known as debating

clubs or lyceums. These were organized early in the public school history and known to exist from about 1840. Landisville's first public school sheltered some of these debating societies prior to the war; and their influence in making public speakers and useful citizens can yet be recalled by the oldest settlers.

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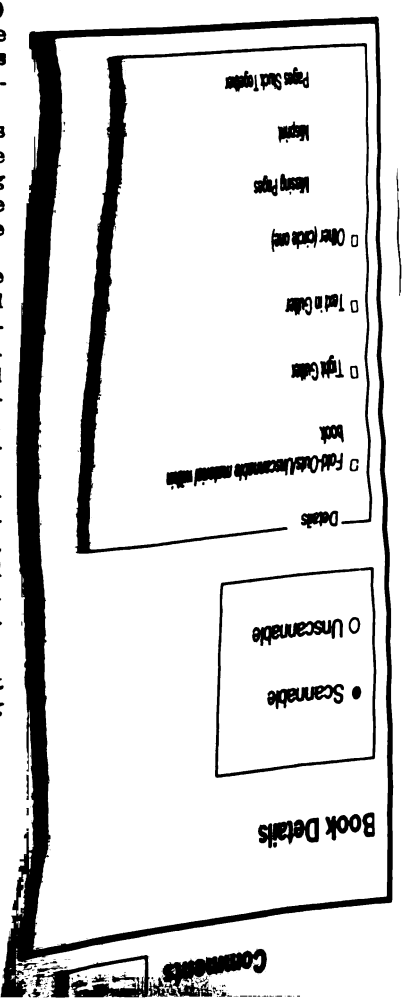

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essary stage curtains and paraphernalia, amounting to no small sum. Some of the special amateur plays rendered there occupied from one to one and a-half hours of time, being creditably executed from frequent rehearsals, mainly managed by J. H. Shenck.

Among the active participants in this society were: Miss Fannie S. Brubaker (deceased), the Misses Swartley, the Misses Gross,Miss Lillie Groff, Miss Florence S. Landis, Miss Fannie P. Long, Miss Barbara A. Hershey, and other local ladies; besides, Messrs. H. Linc. Nissley, S. A. Hershey, W. D. Reitzel (deceased), Jacob F. Landis (deceased), C. B. Harvey, Martin Peifer, the present historian, and a host of others.

When the Landisville Literary Society disbanded, in February, 1884, the Landisville and Salunga Library Association was formed, and from the proceeds of some of the old society's property standard literature was procured. The Salunga Singing Class purchased the organ in May of the same year.

Nearby Literary Circles.

At Rohrerstown, in October of 1884, the Harmony Literary Society was organized, and this, too, had an edifying existence for some winters,with prominent leaders at its head. Its first officers were: H. M. Mayer, President; M. N. Davis, Vice President; H. C. Brown, Treasurer; Miss Lizzie Bear, Secretary; Miss Devore, Editress; A. B. Bear, Critic; Miss Sarah Mauk, Musical Directress.

This society numbered John H. Shenck as one of its leading and most zealous members, he being its President early in 1885, during which time Hon. Amos H. Mylin and Hon. John M. Stehman were elected honorary

members of the Harmony Society. The latter's written acknowledgment stated: "To do work in composition gives the possessor thereof large influence not only on legislation, but in the transaction of ordinary business."

In 1884-5 the Excelsior Literary Society held interesting meetings at Salunga, at which Dr. B. E. Kendig delivered special lectures on hygiene and physical subjects. Among the leaders of this society were A. B. Kreider, the Messrs. Bruckart, A. R. Lehman, and Misses Annie Hertzler, Emma E. Peifer and Lillie Hershey.

The literary and musical organizations prior to 1890 were true to their intent and scope, and depended entirely for success on the genius and ability of their members' minds. After dinners or "feeds" were unknown; the stomach was not considered, and the young folks usually went home from evening exercises with bright heads and buoyant spirits, benefited by good company,regardless of social distinction.

In later years literary circles and societies have been organized nearly every school season. In November of 1905 the latest lyceum was organized at Rohrerstown, by permission of the East Hempfield School Board. Their meetings are held every two weeks, on Friday evenings, in the school room taught by B. H. Heller.

Spelling Bees.

Spelling matches were common at Landisville and vicinity long before the war, usually occurring during the afternoon sessions of public schools. Strong sides were chosen and the two long lines of bashful pupils and older scholars stood their ground gamely, trusting to their everyday knowledge for guidance.

In later years, from about 1870 to

the present time, these matches became known as "bees," and many unique and diversified programmes have been gotten up, stimulated by the offering of prizes, consisting somewhat of books and bric-a-brac. Usually there were and are from three to five classes suited to young and old, pupils and non-attendants. Owing to a study of the expected "test words," more than one person has captured almost a library of books by following up these progressive spelling bees. Landisville, Salunga, Rohrerstown and East Petersburg have held their full share of spelling bees.

District Institutes.

District Institutes were early in operation in East Hempfield, and since about 1885 have been an important factor in open discussions pertaining to the welfare of the public schools. Teachers and directors took active part in them.

I can recall a number of these debates at Landisville; some of the subjects being, "Recent School Legislation," "Resolved, That the present system of education in our public schools meets the requirements of the age," "Shall East Hempfield Have a High School?" etc. Varied programmes of musical and literary features are rendered at these educational institutes.

Printers From the Hempfields.

Benjamin Detwiler was an old-time printer, from Mountville, during the latter sixties. One of his characteristic traits was that he toured the country over to such an extent that he became known as "the great American traveler." He worked recently with the Harris Company of printers and lithographers, in Philadelphia.

Amos Hoffman, of Rohrerstown, worked at printing with Wylie &

Griest, about 1865. He is now located in York. John Leib, of Mountville, was also employed with Wylie & Griest, in the latter sixties, afterward going to Philadelphia.

Andrew H. Hershey, of Rohrerstown, who started to learn the printing trade in March, 1869, with Wylie & Griest (the present Wickersham plant), Lancaster, became superintendent of the job department of The New Era when that paper was established, in 1877, and rapidly created more than a local reputation for printing of a superior nature. He is now one of the pushing proprietors of the well-established New Era, and is executing periodicals and books of a high order of typography and press-work for New York publishers.

Very few people nowadays know that Mountville was the home of a printing office, and Hon. Sam Matt Fridy has but recently refreshed my own memory as to the particulars. Daniel Weidler was the printer, and he published the Mountville News early in the seventies for probably a year. Mr. Weidler is now in Philadelphia.

Harry Weidler, brother of Daniel, of Mountville, was also a printer working with the Inquirer Printing and Publishing Company about 1878-80. He was a jobber, and now holds forth in the Quaker City.

Abraham Kessler, of Rohrerstown, learned his printing trade at the Lancaster Examiner office. He has since been with The New Era for over twenty years, and has regular employment there.

Amos H. Horting, of near East Petersburg, served an apprenticeship with the Inquirer Printing and Publishing Company in the latter seventies, and is now an expert jobber in Philadelphia, where he has his own thriving establishment.

The writer (then from Landisville) was among a-half dozen young men who graduated at the Inquirer Printing and Publishing Company's place in the fall of 1882. In April, 1883, he opened a printing office in his native town, keeping it three years; removed to Lancaster in 1885; was superintendent of the Inquirer printing department, South Queen street, two years; then established Pluck Art Printery, which has had a continuous existence.

Albert S. Newcomer, of Rohrerstown, served an apprenticeship with The New Era, and is at present employed there. George Strawbridge, of Rohrerstown, also became a printer at The New Era office, Lancaster; and Benjamin Mauk, of Rohrerstown, served his trade at the Examiner establishment, same city.

Writers for the Press.

Concluding this rather prosy paper, possibly some reference should be made to the writers for the press from the vicinity of Landisville, although a personal side seems unavoidable in the notation.

W. D. Reitzel, of Salunga, probably was among the earliest of such writers. He certainly contrived clever sketches about 1855 to 1865. Not all of these were published; and I have no doubt that some of his manuscripts are stored away, for his literary genius was given to periodic play prior to his position as Captain in the Civil War.

Miss Anna Uren, of the vicinity of Landisville, near Bamford, contributed a series of interesting sketches for the Sunbeam, a literary monthly journal issued at Lititz, in 1878.

My own experience in journalistic writing might well be left for some future chronicler. Briefly, it dates from essays and school compositions

afterward printed in the Keystone Amateur, a pet periodical, in 1877-78; and the Landisville Vigil, a professional publication, in 1883-85. Since then numerous news items were given to The Inquirer,The New Era,Morning News, and other Lancaster papers; besides articles and papers for the Wheel, New York; the Wheelman (magazine), Boston; American Art Printer, New York; and other kindred and technical journals. Bound works embrace "The Landis Family of Lancaster County, 1888; four volumes "Specimens of Pluck's Printing," 1889-92; and Pluck, a monthly magazine, lastly printed in 1898; besides historical sketches.

A number of other Landisville and Salunga ladies and gentlemen have been and are occasional contributors to the press, including since the Centennial year: J. H. Shenck, A. Swartley (deceased), J. Wesley Bruckart, S. McGirl, P. W. Baker, H. M. Hall, H. Linc. Nissley, Miss Lillie Hershey, Rev. Charles F. Reitzel, P. R. Shellenberger, Harry C. Greider, Ezra Miller, and others ad infinitum.

Would that I could name and herald them all! Landisville has, indeed, done herself "proud" in past and present musical and literary leadership and achievement. More anon.

Note.

In preparing the article on "Date Stones," in Volume IX., No. 12, the item relating to the Andreas Graff date stone, on page 384, was received after all the other items in the article were already in type, and there was no time for a fuller verification of the facts relating to it. It has since been learned that the stones described are not in the house owned by Lancaster city on the east side of the Conestoga river, as stated, but in the house on the west bank, owned by Mr. Jacob E. Ranck. F. R. D.

Minutes of the January Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., Jan. 5, 1906.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met in regular monthly meeting to-night (Friday) in its room in the Young Men's Christian Association building, President Steinman presiding. The roll of officers was called. and, in view of the large amount of business to be transacted, the reading of the minutes of the last meeting was dispensed with.

The Librarian reported having received for the library fifteen volumes from the State Librarian, six pamphlets from D. M. Swarr, a pamphlet on the "Jewish Colony on Tower Hill" from S. M. Sener; "Wadsworth, or Charter Oak," from Mrs. S. P. C. Baumgardner; an old lottery ticket from Mrs. D. W. Miesse; exchanges from the Catholic Historical Society, American Catholic Researches, the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography publications from the Lebanon County Historical Society, and the Ryerson Public Library. The thanks of the society were extended to all these generous donors.

This being the annual meeting, reports from the officers were in order. First came that of the Secretary, which dealt in a general way with the progress and prosperity of the Society, which were stated to be satisfactory in every way. The volume of publications for the year makes a book of 400 pages, illustrated with thirty-seven cuts of various kinds. It was asserted that no other Society in the State, not excepting the State Society, has done an equal amount of original work. Attention was called

to the severe losses the Society has sustained by death during the year, no fewer than six members having been called away. Various suggestions were made looking to the welfare of the Society. On motion, the report was received and adopted.

The Librarian's report was long and interesting, detailing , as it did, the many donations of books, newspaper files and miscellaneous other articles, during the year. Of newspapers alone, over one hundred bound volumes were received. The donations were more numerous than in any previous year. The report was adopted.

The report of the Treasurer was to the effect that the finances of the Society were in excellent shape, all the outstanding bills having been promptly paid, leaving a balance in the treasury at the beginning of the current year. The report was adopted, after having been audited.

This being the time for the selection of officers to serve for the ensuing year, the Society went into the annual election, which resulted as follows:

President, George Steinman.

Vice Presidents, Dr. Jos. H. Dubbs and Samuel Evans.

Secretary, Frank R. Diffenderffer.

Librarian, S. M. Sener, Esq.

Treasurer, Dr. J. W. Houston.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Martha B. Clark.

Executive Committee, A. K. Hostetter, G. F.K. Erisman, Monroe B. Hirsh, D. B. Landis, R. M. Reilly, Mrs. Sara B. Carpenter, Dr. John S. Stahr, Chas. Steigerwalt, Mrs. Dubois Rohrer and P. A. Metzgar.

The Secretary and Librarian were authorized to edit and publish the publications of the Society.

An appropriation of $5 was made to the janitor of the Y. M. C. A. building and $15 to the Y. M. C. A.

The paper of the evening was pre-

pared and read by D. B. Landis. The title was "The Musical and Literary Associations of Landisville and Vicinity." It was quite lengthy and dealt not only with these organizations as a body, but with the individual members also, going into details with much fulness and minuteness. The thanks of the Society were given to Mr. Landis, and the paper was ordered to be printed in the usual way. Several of the many illustrations which accompanied were ordered to be incorporated with the printed article.

On motion, the Secretary and Librarian were allowed the same sums as last year for procuring stenographic and other labor as may be required in their several departments.

A considerable discussion was had over the necessity of revising the Constitution and By-Laws to bring them more into accord with the needs of the Society and the Executive Committee was accordingly directed to undertake such revision and changes and submit their work to the Society for approval. The Publishing Committee was also authorized to consider the matter of illustrating the publications of the Society in case such illustrations were required.

The meeting was marked by a very full attendance of members and others, the ladies being out in large numbers.

There being no further business, a motion to adjourn was made and carried.

Annual Report of the Secretary.

Secretary's Report.

Lancaster, Pa., January 5, 1906.

To the Officers and Members of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

In accordance with the custom which has been observed during the past six years, your Secretary begs leave to submit the following report on the progress and condition of our Society during the past year.

The past twelve months have been among the most prosperous and satisfactory in the history of our organization. The number of meetings held was ten, the summer months of July and August having been omitted, as usual. At these meetings eighteen applications for membership were favorably acted upon. That is a small number of admissions in so populous a county as ours, and I again make the suggestion that the membership generally exerts itself more actively in an effort to increase our numbers. It is true, that a large membership is not always an indication of great prosperity or great things done, but it, nevertheless, shows that the members have not relaxed their efforts to advance the work of the Society; besides, it has a good, general effect on the community at large in showing that more and more persons are becoming interested in our work.

The number of persons carried on our rolls as contributing and honorary members is at the present time 165. In addition, our publications are sent to twenty-six kindred societies, libraries and others in exchange for their own publications. That seems a pretty

large exchange list, but it puts our work on record in places where it can be seen and consulted by historical students, and in that way brings us both credit and reputation.

It is with sincere sorrow that I am compelled to announce since our last meeting the Reaper Death has invaded our ranks and removed no fewer than six of our historic household. Some of them were among our earliest members, and their kindly faces were to be seen at almost every meeting. Biographical sketches of all of them will be found in the December issue of our proceedings.

During the past year the purely literary work of our organization has been unusually prominent. Twelve numbers of our publication have been issued, which is a larger number than ever, before, but this is owing to the change authorized at the annual meeting in January, 1905, that the Papers and Proceedings of the September, October, November and December meetings of 1904 should be included in the volume for the present year, thus bringing our literary and fiscal year to the same starting point each year, that is, with the January meeting. That has resulted in giving us a volume of 394 pages for the year ending with December, 1905. This brings us within a few pages of our first volume, in 1896-97, the volume in which nearly two score members and others were represented by literary contributions. As you are all aware, our enthusiasm in this direction has suffered a decline since then, but the present year has shown a revival of that early enthusiasm, and twenty articles of considerable length, beside a number of shorter ones, have been read and printed. I think we can all feel proud over these results. So far as I am aware, none of our sister societies have done

as much. Some of them far exceed us in the number of their members, but none in the amount of work done.

It may not be out of place if at this point in my report I direct the attention of our members with pardonable pride to the amount of work we have done since our re-organization, nine years ago. During that time we have issued 68 pamphlets of "Papers and Proceedings," in which were printed about 160 articles of considerable length and many shorter ones, nearly all prepared by our members and read before our Society. Those nine volumes contain 2,223 pages of reading matter and upwards of 100 illustrations, which add much to their value. As we gathered from month to month, and listened to these papers, it may sometimes have seemed to us that we were not doing very much, after all, but the aggregate of the work done has placed us in the front rank of our sister organizations. "By their works shall ye know them."

Our Librarian will place before you a statement of what has been done in his department. I can only say, the donations of books, newspapers, and of articles to our museum have been large; larger, I believe, than during any other single year since our organization. What we have received is only an indication of what will come to us, as I verily believe, when more ample accommodations have been provided for them.

It affords us pleasure to say that the attendance at our regular meetings has been better during the year than during any previous twelvemonth. I hope this feature will become still more prominent during the year upon which we have entered. Indeed, the personal benefits that the members derive from such attendance is, perhaps, the most desirable asset the Society has to offer. The members

become better acquainted with each other. It encourages individual discussion and calls out many facts and matters known to individual members only.

I am also of the opinion that the holding of an annual banquet would still further promote the good-fellowship that should prevail. Such a banquet need not be a costly affair, and I feel sure enough members could be found at any time to enter into the idea and carry it out successfully. A modest banquet during the winter season would well supplement the usual summer outing.

Although I have in successive annual reports alluded to the necessity of securing more ample quarters for our meetings, and have failed to convince the majority of the members that such is the case, I feel it my duty to once more direct your attention to this matter. It is very true, that in some respects these quarters are acceptable, but there are drawbacks. They are not ours exclusively. Every night in the week they are occupied by other persons. It is a matter known to you all that most of our meetings are disturbed by noises and other demonstrations that compel us to close our doors. Our collections are too exposed for safety. Above all, we have outgrown these quarters. You may not decide to move this year, as you have decided on previous occasions, but in the very near future you will be compelled to move, whether you like the idea or not. We are growing. Expansion is the inevitable decree of the times. To refuse to conform to it is to fall into the rear, to stand still, to stagnate and to die. We can no more escape that law than we can the snows of winter or the showers of summer. I suggest that the Executive Committee be instructed to

look into the matter and make an early report.

It only remains for me to say that the report of our Treasurer will show that our finances are in good shape. While our expenses have been considerable, we have something to show for them. The affairs of the Society, so far as they have come under my observation, have been honestly and economically administered. On the whole, therefore, I congratulate the Society on the good work it has done. There is a broad field of future usefulness before it, and I hope the members will, one and all, lend their best endeavors to make the year upon which we have entered even more successful than any that have preceded it.

Respectfully submitted,

F. R. DIFFENDERFFER,

Secretary.

Annual Report of the Librarian.

Librarian's Report.

To the Officers and Members of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

Your Librarian begs to report that during the year there were added to the library and museum of our Society 683 articles, composed of 238 bound volumes; 99 pamphlets; 96 bound files of newspapers; 3 curios; 3 boxes of herbarium specimens; 9 documents; 25 loose newspapers, some being of ancient date; 35 photographs, engravings and maps; 47 miscellaneous publications; 2 bundles of the Lititz Express and the Columbia Courant for 1905; and 2 unbound files of the Anti-Masonic Herald.

Among the donors who gave to the Society may be enumerated the Pennsylvania State Library, Hon. H. Burd Cassel New York Public Library, State Library of New York; Newton Lightner's estate, heirs of Dr. S. S. Rathvon, Gilbert Cope, Esq., West Chester; A. M. Rambo, Esq., Harrisburg; Mrs. L. B. Walker, Annville; Levi Ellmaker, Esq., S. T. Davis, M.D.; S. M. Sener, F. R. Diffenderffer, Samuel Evans, J. W. Houston, M.D.; A. L. Leaman, Mrs. Robinson, A. L. Haverstick, the Congressional Library, D. M. Swarr, and The New Era.

There are twenty-six names on our exchange list, and during the year there were purchased 19 volumes, a handsome book-case and a card index file.

In reference to the card index file, your librarian would state that he has catalogued about 200 of the volumes

and that within a very short time the whole library and museum will be indexed and the index available to the members.

Your Librarian would also report that the delegates from our Society to the State Federation of Historical Societies, which assembled in Harrisburg on January 4, 1906, were all in attendance and were very well pleased with the business transacted at the same. Considerable stress was laid at the meeting on the preparation of county bibliographies, and that, as usual, "Old Lancaster" headed the list, the only other county which compiled a bibliography being Tioga. Our Secretary, Mr. Diffenderffer, exhibited to the members of the Federation a complete copy of Volume nine of our "Papers and Addresses," and every one was of the opinion that our Society is leading them all in the matter of original research, the Pennsylvania State Historical Society not being excepted.

Referring to the subject of a "Bibliography of Lancaster County," your Librarian would report that in connection with the same his labors have been arduous and that he has succeeded in gathering together about 1,300 titles, and that possibly 200 more will be added before the list will be a complete one. This list includes nothing but what are strictly Lancaster county imprints, no books that were printed here for parties living elsewhere being taken into consideration. If that were done, The New Era Printing Company alone could furnish over 500 titles, and the Wickersham Printing Company about 300 more. No volumes containing references to Lancaster county were considered, but their number is legion, as are also works, either in pamphlet or volume form, which have been pre-

pared by or published for residents of this county. The list already secured does not contain any of the newspapers printed in this city or county, and when they are added it will mean about 500 more titles, 250 in the city and 250 in the county. The list not only embraces the historical and biographical elements of our grand old county, its institutions and its public men, but also includes, as well, the intellectual product of its religious, literary, educational and business life. It is by no means exhausted, and your Librarian is satisfied that there are many omissions to be secured and added thereto. Many difficulties have been encountered in its gathering, and your Librarian takes occasion here to thank with pleasure, the many persons and institutions who have rendered assistance in this work, notably the Pennsylvania State Historical Society, Pennsylvania State Library, Congressional Library, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, New York Public Library, Rev. Dr. J. H. Dubbs, D. McN. Stauffer, F. R. Diffenderffer, S. W. Sener, D. B. Landis and D. H. Landis The gathering together of this bibliography will be a memorable work, which will stand as a lasting credit to our Society. Your Librarian thanks all the members for their many courtesies extended to him with reference to the work of his department during the year.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

S. M. SENER,
Librarian.

Lancaster, January 5, 1906.

Annual Report of the Treasurer.

Treasurer's Report.

Lancaster, Jan. 5, 1906.

To the Members of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

As Treasurer of your Society, I have the honor of submitting the following report of the finances for the year ending December 31, 1905:

Cash on hand from year 1904	$299.92
Received for initiations and dues (1905)	143.00
Appropriation from County Commissioners	200.00
Total receipts from all sources	$642.92
Total disbursements during year	500.02
Balance on hand December 31, 1905	$142.90

The Miss Mary Ross donation is on deposit in one of our city Trust Companies at four per cent. interest. The fund now amounts to about $135.

Respectfully submitted,

J. W. HOUSTON,
Treasurer.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FEBRUARY 2, 1906.

THE FLIGHT OF AN EMPRESS.

MINUTES OF THE FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF WASHINGTON.

VOL. X. NO. 2.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1906.

The Flight of an Empress, - - - - - - - - 41

By Joseph Henry Dubbs, D.D., LL.D.

Minutes of the February Meeting, - - - - - 56

The Social Life of Washington, - - - - - - 59

By Joseph Henry Dubbs, D.D., LL.D.

THE FLIGHT OF AN EMPRESS.

The flight of the Empress Eugenie from Paris, and her subsequent escape to England, is probably the most romantic episode of the Franco-Prussian War. It will be remembered that when her husband, Napoleon III., departed for the seat of war,the Empress assumed the regency of France. For several weeks she ruled quietly, but then came the dreadful news of the defeat of the French Army at Sedan and the surrender of Napoleon. It is said that the Empress received the first information from Prince Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador, who warned her that she was personally in great danger. The city of Paris became excited, and a mob gathered around the Tuileries. In the palace everything was in confusion, and the howling multitude was not to be restrained. The crowd burst into the apartments of the Empress, and there can be no doubt that if they had found her there she would have been murdered. It was, however, found that she had disappeared, and for once the blood-thirsty proletariat was disappointed.

For some years the manner of the escape of the Empress remained a well-kept secret. It was popularly regarded as a mystery and curious legends began to gather around it. As a natural consequence the earliest published accounts of this event were full of confusion. The "American Cyclopaedia" (1879) says, for instance, that "the Empress fled at midnight accompanied by Metternich, the Italian Minister Nigra, the Countess Walewska, M. de Lesseps and her aged

secretary, Mme. Lebreton." All this now appears absurd. It is certain that the Empress would not have got very far if she had left the Tuileries accompanied by such a high and mighty company.

It was only by degrees that the true facts of the case came to be known. No doubt the persons who were immediately interested for personal reasons hesitated to publish all the particulars. Appleton's "Cyclopaedia of American Biography" (1887) briefly says that "the story is told in several ways," but that "it is generally accepted that the Empress was taken to the residence of Dr. Thomas W. Evans for refuge." "She was hurried into his carriage," it is said, "and driven beyond the walls of the city, while he held in front of her face an open newspaper which he was apparently reading." The "Cyclopaedia Americana" says, in the same connection, that "she was recognized only by a boy whose exclamation passed unnoticed." The latter statement may be founded on a doubtful story which we heard many years ago. It was said that when the Empress entered Dr. Evans' carriage a man recognized her and said, "That's the Empress!" Immediately the Doctor caught him by the throat and prevented him from saying more. The bystanders inquired "What did he say?" and the Doctor replied, "He said, Hurrah for the Prussians!" Then he whispered into the man's ear, "Run as fast as you can or they will tear you to pieces!" The fellow took his advice, and it was in this way that his exclamation remained unnoticed. We may add that this story is entirely without confirmation, and that it is probably one of the legends to which we have already referred.

It is only since the death of Dr. Evans that the particulars of this

marvellous episode have become generally known. In later life the Doctor wisely prepared a full account, which has recently appeared in a prominent magazine and is also preserved in a permanent volume. There is, however, an earlier account, written by his wife in the form of letters to an intimate friend in Lancaster, and it is this which I take pleasure in presenting on the present occasion. Though these letters contain many local allusions, they will for this reason be especially interesting; and for comparison with the Doctor's published account they will be found to be of permanent historical interest.

It is, we suppose, generally known that before Dr. Thomas W. Evans, the

Dr. Thomas W. Evans.

famous American dentist, removed to Paris, he resided for several years in Lancaster. It was here that he began to acquire the eminence which naturally led to his brilliant subsequent

career. In Lancaster he and his wife made many friends, to whom they remained closely attached during all the subsequent years; but among them all they were probably most intimate with Dr. and Mrs. Charles A. Heinitsh. Dr. Heinitsh, as we all remember, was a man of talent, who enjoyed more than a local reputation in pharmacy and general science, and his wife was a woman of high culture. For many years Mrs. Evans maintained an intimate correspondence with Mrs. Heinitsh, who had been bridesmaid at her wedding, and whom she loved as a sister.

Mrs. Heinitsh died July 5, 1903, leaving no descendants. A few years before her death she suffered the present writer to take copies of the following letters, at the same time granting special permission for their publication after her decease. The writer has other letters, addressed by Mrs. Evans to Mrs. Heinitsh, but as containing an account of the flight from Paris of the Empress Eugenie, and of other events with which the name of Dr. Evans is most generally associated, it is believed that the following are possessed of unusual interest:

"Hastings, Sept. 21st, 1870.

"My Darling Friend: Here we are in England—fugitives from this fearful war. Our home desolated by this time, perhaps—we dare not think of it. We are safe for the time, leaving nearly everything of value in our house, as we could bring but few things, such as everyday clothing, a portion of our jewels and some silver, but paintings, statuary and all very valuable large articles are at the mercy of the mob or Prussians. Our horses are left—the coachman, man servant and cook are in the house, and protect it as much as they can.

The maid servant came with us—she is a Swiss, fortunately, and has not her home in France.

"We know not, and can not know, what Paris is doing—all communication being cut off for the present. I left Paris a month since for Deauville, a quiet bathing place in Normandy, about five hours from Paris. We heard such discouraging accounts of the French defeats and Prussians moving on Paris that most of us deemed it imprudent to remain in France. When news reached us of the downfall of the Empire and flight of the Empress there was a complete exodus of the French from Paris and her environs. As we were not far from Havre or Dieppe we choose the latter, as hundreds were rushing for Havre, the boats being unable to accommodate all. We have with us Dr. and Lydia Sharpless, who accompanied us to Deauville, remaining there until we all came here. On crossing from Dieppe to Newhaven—the distance of seven hours at sea—we were overtaken by a gale and had a fearful passage—our boat being tossed about unmercifully. The cabin was overcrowded by French refugees—I never pitied people so much in my life—families rushing away from their comfortable and luxurious homes with young children—abandoning nearly everything to save themselves from the dreaded Germans who are overrunning France in hordes. Normandy is the most prosperous and lovely part of France—one vast orchard of fruit when we crossed from Deauville to Dieppe. Alas! what will it be when this hateful war is ended. France is certainly paying dearly for her impolitic war—but was she to blame? I am sufficiently French to feel indignant at Prussia for marching on Paris. Justice called for a cessation of hostil-

ities the moment the Emperor was taken—he and the King were the two duellists, and between them the fate of the two nations rested. God could never look upon so unjust a war and permit any one country to overcome so completely the other—there may be a heathen god of war, but not a Christian one. He looks upon and permits men to be thus punished, but he assists not in such destruction—however Prussia may think she is protected by heaven.

I never witnessed as now the frightful consequences of war—being too far removed from the field—now we are in the midst, seeing and hearing from the immediate sufferers. All the American families who could leave Paris have done so. Many residents have been compelled to leave their all, save a few articles of clothing. We shall most of us remain in England until we can return to France.

"I wish all letters for the present addressed to Langham Hotel, London. We shall make that our headquarters. I am now with dear Tom on a visit to Hastings, a lovely bathing place on the sea—only two hours by rail from London. The Empress is also at this place with the young prince. I have seen her several times, and, oh! how differently from our former meetings—she has wept upon my neck and kissed me as a sister. I can scarcely believe I am not dreaming—but adversity makes us all equals.

"My dear husband's great attachment to the Imperial family has made it almost dangerous for him at present in Paris, where they are so reviled—and no one has been so faithful a friend as he in their downfall. How much it recalls to my mind the poor Duchess of Orleans' flight during the 1848 revolution. How implacable is the French republic! al-

ways so full of hatred and cruelty. While men live to make a republic of such material it can never be permanent—there must be order and moderation. The poor Empress would have been torn in pieces by the enraged mob had she not been rescued.

Mrs. Thomas W. Evans.

Of this most romantic flight I shall tell you at length some day. At present my husband thinks it prudent to say but little. When events are more quiet I will write you a full account if you do not learn it from our friends, the Sharplesses, for the return to America per Scotia, October 22, and will no doubt see Mrs. Ellmaker during the autumn.

"I regretted exceedingly to learn of Mrs. Hager's sudden death. Miss Sharpless had a letter from Mrs. Ellmaker some weeks ago, which informed her of this bereavement. Please give my deep sympathy to the family. How much she must be missed—she was such a lovely woman.

"Write to me, dearest Mollie, in my exile. I shall miss all letters sent to me during August, I suppose, as there is no possibility of their reaching Paris by the late mails.

"I have heard from home but once since my niece left. She sailed August 13th, and her first letter was forwarded me. We do not get papers or anything. This seems a solemn moment for all—even for those who have no interests at stake.

"The weather is most lovely—the sea almost motionless. The place is very beautifully situated, and,although a large town, it is as quiet as some country place. There are ten churches, of different denominations. The people appear happy and prosperous—the various churches are well supported, and the place itself must be a pleasant winter residence, I should think. It is well sheltered from the north winds by high cliffs, which are on one side, and the sea, facing south, on the other. To-day I am seated at a bay window in our private sitting room—looking upon the sea, which is brilliantly flashing in the sunlight. Small boats, filled with parties of ladies and children, passing and repassing, while myriads of fishing boats are visible in the distance. The drives are varied and most interesting—the Esplanade the finest I ever saw. You can drive for miles on the seaside—then turn into the country, where there are lovely, quiet cottages and churches, such as only England can afford. Such numbers of beautiful, rosy children I never saw at so small a place. Every step we come upon groups with their nurses—another product of England's surpassing all other nations in this respect. It is not rare to see five or six little girls, all dressed alike and varying

from two to ten years old, and one or two baby boys, all belonging to the same family—all looking blooming and healthy. I could not think of any spot more enjoyable than this for a few months' residence, if not a fugitive from our own comfortable home, but under present circumstances I must say I regret my own dear home and all its surroundings. But I was always too happy in it, and must now be thankful that I have had so many blessings and still enjoy enough. I only pray God to stay this war, that all France may not be devastated—the poor peasant deprived of his all. As it will require years to repair all the dire destruction done in Paris alone—if it is ever repaired—the destruction of private property alone is irreparable.

"Please give our love to all inquiring friends. I wrote you the 23rd of July—have not heard from you since. Good-bye. I hope my next letter will be dated Paris, though I hardly dare utter such a hope.

"Your ever sincere

"AGNES.

"Theodore and Fannie are in Switzerland. Their house was thought to be condemned, being outside the fortifications and opposite the Bois de Boulogne. They have had all their furniture removed to a place of safety—that is, if Paris is not bombarded, in which case all must go."

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4 Clarges Street,
Piccadilly, Oct. 20, 1870.

"My very dear friend: I was most grateful to receive your sweet letter, darling Mollie—it quite revived me in our exile. I have read and re-read it, feeling in each word so much true and sincere friendship—for I regard you

and dear Charles as the dearest of our earthly friends. You have always been firm to believe us to be unchanged. I also received the papers sent by dear Charles.

"Since I wrote to you last we have passed through a trying ordeal. I will try to give you some details of my dear husband's adventures, which have been attended with danger on every side, and you can judge how hard it is to see and hear such untruthful and cruel reports about him when he has ever been so upright and just, self-sacrificing and devoted to his true principles of right.

"When you see my friend Miss Sharpless (as I hope you may) she can tell you more than I can write. I know she will visit Mrs. Ellmaker, but when I can not say. Dr. Sharpless and Miss S. sail on Saturday next per Scotia—October 22d—the same steamer by which I mail this.

"On the memorable September 4th, the day of the proclamation of the French Republic, I, being at Deauville on the coast of France, expected my dear husband to join me as soon as he could leave his duties in Paris, which he was making his preparations to do. On that Sunday morning (for it was on Sunday) the whole of Paris was in revolution. My husband drove in to his office to see if all was safe. He was there with several other gentlemen—he had invited some friends whose wives were absent to dine at our house quite sociably—among whom was our clergyman, Rev. Mr. Samson, and his son George—who are connected with Thomas' Sanitary Society. These were assembled about 5 p. m. in our house. When my husband and his friend, Dr. Edward Crane (a surgeon in our army during the war) returned, our man servant told Thomas two ladies were anxious to see him—they had been waiting

since half-past two o'clock. He, not guessing at all who his guests were, went into our library, where they awaited him, and there to his amazement he beheld the Empress Eugenie and a lady friend—the only one near her in her hour of peril. Thomas was greatly puzzled when Eugenie besought him to save her. She then related what had really occurred. On the entrance of the Paris mob into the Palace she was not prepared to leave, nor had she any idea of doing so, but the Prince of Metternich and Count de Nigra both insisted she should. She resisted,telling them that General Trochu had told her not to leave the palace until they had reached her over his dead body; but the above-named gentlemen pushed her out of a door after having thrown over her shoulders a waterproof cloak—on her head a bonnet and in her hand she carried a small satchel containing a prayer book and a few nandkerchiefs—in this way she left the Palace, having the lady with her. They ran through the gallery leading on the court yard of the Louvre. There finding a hackney coach they drove to our house. It was then for Thomas to find means of getting her safely out of France. He at once consulted with his friend, Dr. C., who made all due apologies to the invited guests, as my husband could not explain to them the cause of his wishing to leave the city as soon as possible. They had to think and say what they chose. Thus it was a report became current that Thomas was in league with the Imperial family—had secreted plate and jewelry. How awful to say such fearful falsehoods against one who has always been loyal and honorable in all his actions! In those papers Charles sent I noticed a most false paragraph. Why will people invent to the detriment of

others' character? We did not even save our own silver, and certainly it never occurred to my husband to conceal, or aid in doing so, anything belonging to the Empress. She sought our house and his protection from an infuriated mob; we did not suppose she would be obliged to do anything of the kind, but at the moment of peril her friends at Court proved not to be her friends in need.

"Tuesday, Oct. 25th.

"It was for my husband to bear all that might be said evil—but what could he do—he has always been devoted to the Emperor because he has ever been treated kindly by him—but as to doing anything secret or dishonorable, never could Thomas be induced to such actions. He got the Empress out of Paris with our own horses and carriage as far as the former could go. When they left, which was at 4 in the morning of Monday, September 5th, they went safely to a country town outside St. Germain. There they assumed to be English people going to France—one of the ladies an invalid, who had to be carried from carriage to carriage. In this way the Empress was smuggled out of danger to where I was staying—Deauville, on the Norman coast. On reaching here, Tuesday, September 6, my husband came to my rooms. He looked pale and trembling—said he had the Empress in a carriage outside the Casino—a sort of garden attached to the hotel where I was. The carriage in which they then were was also a hackney coach. As all was very quiet in the hotel—for Deauville is a very quiet seaside place, only a few Americans and a very few Frenchmen in the hotel—my husband was able to conduct the Empress to my room without meeting any one. On reach-

ing this place of safety she thanked God and felt happy. I, of course, having only known her amidst court etiquette and luxury, could not at once think of her as anything but an Empress—but she appeared so humble and thankful I felt she was a woman like myself and threw aside all formality with her. She seemed full of heart and feeling, most interesting and lovely. She remained with me until Thomas went in pursuit of some method of getting to England. There was an English gentleman whose yacht lay at Deauville waiting fine weather to put to sea. To this gentleman Thomas applied, and, of course, it was accorded the illustrious fugitive to leave in the yacht at an early hour next morning. Until near midnight the Empress was in our rooms—no one in the hotel suspecting the fact—and next morning the yacht departed for England with my husband, Engenie and Mme. Le Breton, her lady companion. Our dear friend, Dr. Crane, returned to Paris to attend to my dear Thomas' sanitary business which this event forced [him] to abandon. Dr. C. is still in Paris—we receive [letters] occasionally from him by balloon or General Burnside. My husband encountered a heavy gale crossing over to England—they were 24 hours reaching Ryde. The Empress met her son at Hastings—from there I wrote you. I remained there two weeks, then came here. The Empress is near London in a quiet place and seems comparatively happy—she having her son with her—and hears frequently from her husband. Thomas has gone to visit the recent battlefields. He writes from Metz, which place is in a deplorable condition—illness and famine prevail. God grant Paris may be spared these! I expect him back in a few days—no doubt he will have much to recount to me.

"In our friend's letter from Paris, dated the 15th of October, received yesterday, October 24th, he says our dear home remains safe so far—the man servant and the cook remain on guard. How long this will be we cannot say. If bombardment takes place our house is exposed to being in ruins soon, as it is near the Bois de Boulogne. There are over 200 Americans shut up in Paris. They may be able to get out with Mr. Washburne—in any case they will be obliged to come without baggage. Those of us who are safely out are not any too well supplied. Many left without warm clothing, not thinking of being unable to return in a few weeks. It was not realized that Europe would see Paris sacrificed—nor can we think so yet—but, alas! to what a state must the city be reduced before we can return. It must be awful to see the destruction around that once lovely place—St. Cloud almost destroyed—the palace burned—Versailles more or less damaged. It will beggar description to give any idea of the ruin and desolation caused by this dreadful war.

"Theodore and Fannie are at Geneva, where Fannie's parents are—her father still a great sufferer. No doubt they will be obliged to go to Italy or some warm climate for him before next month. We may remain in London—I cannot say. I have a great many friends here, who, like ourselves, are fugitives, and we hope to return, but cannot say when, to our home in Paris. London climate is not agreeable, though so far it has not been very unpleasant. Like all European autumns, rain, sunshine and fog. My health so far has been very good here.

"I did not get this letter off by the

22nd. Our friends, the Sharplesses, sailed then. I was prevented by many interruptions to send you this before this week's mail. Please direct in future to the care of James W. Tacker, Banker, Bartholomew House, Bartholomew Lane, London—the letters will always reach us through Mr. Tacker's address. Though we have rooms pleasantly situated, near the Park, and very central, I do not know that we shall remain here all the time. There is nothing decided, for from day to day we always hope to be able to return to our dear Parisian home. Even if there were peace proclaimed,I fear Paris would scarcely be habitable for a long time—there must be great desolation everywhere around the poor city.

"Love to all our dear friends—let them know of our safety.

"I like your photograph very much, though you are not yourself without spectacles to me. Yet I thank you for the sweet likeness, if not quite as sweet as the original. Kiss little Charlie, and do not let him forget his auntie, who sent him for so many fans, little thinking they would ever come into possession of the Prussians with so many other valuable articles. A great deal of love for yourself and dear Charles, from

"Your ever attached,

"AGNES."

Minutes of the February Meeting.

Lancaster, Feb. 2, 1906.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met in regular session on on this (Friday) night in their room on the Young Men's Christian Association Building, President Steinman being in the chair.

The roll of officers was called by the Secretary and the absentees noted. On motion, the reading of the minutes of the January meeting was dispensed with.

Applications for membership were received from the following persons: H. L. Raub, Mrs. Annie R. Bosworth and Mrs. Lydia E. Martin, all of Lancaster. Under the rules, these applications lie over until the next meeting.

The donations to the Society consisted of a copy of Weem's "Life of Washington" and Church's "War With King Philip," both presented by Howard B. Gilgore; "Annals of Iowa for January, 1906," German-American Annals" for January, Franklin Calendar, Washington Calendar; a copy of Jefferson's Parliamentary Rules, donated by Monroe B. Hirsh, and a "Haus Sagen," printed at the Ephrata press in 1803, and beautifully framed by A. K. Hostetter. The thanks of the Society were extended to the donors for their acceptable gifts.

The paper of the evening was read by Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs. It was entitled the "Flight of an Empress," and gave a detailed account of the escape of the Empress Eugenie from Paris after the downfall of the Emperor Napoleon III. The account given was

mainly drawn from several letters written by the wife of Dr. Thomas W. Evans to Mrs. Charles A. Heinitsh, of this city, the two having been very intimate friends. The details were very minute and brought out some facts concerning that episode not generally known. The paper created much interest and was very favorably received. The thanks of the Society were extended to Dr. Dubbs, and it was ordered to be printed in the usual way. The discussion that followed brought out a number of other facts concerning the author of the letters and her Lancaster friends.

R. M. Reilly, from the Executive Committee, reported that body as having held a meeting under the instructions given it to prepare a new constitution and reporting progress. The report was received and the subcommittee continued.

Despite the cold weather, the meeting was unusually well attended, the room being filled to its utmost capacity, nearly one-half of those present having been ladies.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF WASHINGTON.*

You have courteously invited me to address you upon some aspect of the life of Washington. It need hardly be said that in this connection themes innumerable must necessarily suggest themselves. It might be natural to speak of Washington as a soldier, a statesman or a philanthropist; but such subjects have been so exhaustively treated by men of the highest eminence that even for this patriotic assembly they may be presumed to have lost a part, at least, of their original fascination. The same might perhaps be said of any aspect of the life of this great man that could possibly be suggested; but it has occurred to me that the purposes of this association are no less social than patriotic, and for this reason, if for no other, I have determined to speak of "The Social Life of Washington," a theme which brings us nearer to him than he appears in camp or court, and may, perhaps, enable us to gather some fragments of his history that the ordinary reader is apt to pass unnoticed.

It is related that one day when Washington Irving was a little boy there was great enthusiasm when the President entered New York. The boy's Scotch nurse lifted him above her head that he might see the object of all this rejoicing. "Why," exclaimed the boy, "he's nothing but a man."

*Paper read before the Donegal Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, on Wednesday, February 14, 1906, by Joseph Henry Dubbs, D.D., LL.D., and published in these proceedings by the Committee on Publications.

We, too, may be able to discover that the father of his country was a mere man—a man of his age with all its strength and weakness—but withal worthy of the admiration which has so freely been accorded him by subsequent generations.

In order to comprehend our subject it may be well briefly to consider the social conditions of America during the Colonial period. It is plain, we think, that American society was organized on distinctly English lines, and that in this respect the difference between the several colonies was more apparent than real. The early settlers of New England, it is true, have been described as intelligent yeomanry; but after all they had an aristocracy of their own. It was to some extent based on education and force of character, but birth and social station were by no means undervalued. The early ministers—men like Cotton, Hooker and the Mathers—were "leviathans of learning," but they also belonged to historical families, and it was the combination of these elements that made them the undoubted leaders of Church and State. There could be no greater disgrace than social ostracism; and one of the earliest punishments inflicted by a Massachusetts Court was to issue an order that a certain criminal should be deprived of the privilege of being called "Mister." Even royalty was hardly recognized as the highest source of honor. Sir William Phipps and Sir William Peperell had been made baronets, but they were not socially as highly esteemed as others who had no handle to their names. "The King," it was said, "might dub them Knights, but he could not make them gentlemen."

In the province of New York the old Dutch families easily accommodated themselves to the prevailing senti-

ment. Many of them, it is said, had been originally of humble extraction; but they had been richer than other settlers, to begin with, and 150 years of wealth and station had almost elevated them to the position of European nobles. This was especially true of the Dutch patroons, but there were men of British descent who were hardly less distinguished. Sir William Johnson maintained almost royal state on his domain of 100,000 acres, and through his Indian wife, Molly Brant, was the uncrowned King of the Six Nations.

In Pennsylvania the social system was less completely organized. The foremost place was, indeed, claimed by Colonial officials and their descendants, and to these were subsequently added the wealthy "Barbadoes" merchants of Philadelphia. In country districts were the so-called iron-masters who gathered around them a large number of dependents—miners, laborers, charcoal burners, and even tenant farmers who cultivated the land after it had been cleared of its forests. There were, of course, here and there, professional men of extraordinary ability and enterprise who commanded a certain degree of social influence, and the fact has rarely been forgotten by their descendants. The clergy were personages of great importance, and in Philadelphia the German ministers, as well as the English, wore cocked hats, and appeared on the streets arrayed in black gowns when on their way to church. In Eastern Pennsylvania, says Dr. Jacobs, the ministers of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches were practically barons. They were proud of their European education and naturally took the lead in an unlettered community. Many of them laid great stress on their descent, and

Michael Schlatter, of the Reformed Church, never issued a marriage certificate without impressing it with his coat of arms. With all this, the fact is evident that, as the Colonial history of Pennsylvania was much more brief than that of the provinces to the north and south, its social conditions during the Colonial period remained unsettled.

It was, of course, in Virginia that the social idea was most completely developed. The number of families which were in some degree connected with the ruling families of England was greater than in other colonies, and there was a certain splendid hospitality which was elsewhere unattainable. The pioneers had brought the social ideals of England across the ocean, and at the very beginning the lines between the social classes had been firmly and distinctly drawn.

It has been said that in Virginia only two sciences were studied, genealogy and heraldry. This statement is not strictly correct—neither subject was studied as a science—but it is true that the proofs of gentle blood were very highly esteemed.

That George Washington was a gentleman born has never been doubted. His father was a rich man, though at his death the estate was reduced by being divided between five children. The Washingtons, however, were not one of the foremost families of the Old Dominion. They had held no prominent Colonial offices; they knew of no distinguished relatives in the mother country; they remained attached to the soil, and cultivated habits of economy and frugality. George Washington's mother appears to have been a woman of great dignity, but she was plain in her tastes and manners. The early training of Washing-

ton was, indeed, of the highest character—it was, in fact, far better than any which he could have received at a royal court; but I can hardly suppose that his fondness for the company of those who occupied a higher social position was derived from the lessons which he had received at home.

There were, it would seem, in his nature certain peculiarities which from the beginning attracted the attention of men of influence and culture. He was a silent boy, as he was afterwards a silent man. It may seem almost absurd to ascribe dignity to a half-grown boy, and yet if the term could ever be used in this way it certainly could be properly employed in the case of Washington. What a splendid page he might have been at the court of some European monarch! Always obedient—performing his duties with absolute precision—and addressing his superiors, when this became necessary, with so much respect that the briefest speech appeared to involve a personal compliment. He had not many opportunities for advanced education, but such as he had he employed to the utmost. His favorite teacher, Thomas Williams, deemed it a pleasure to spend many extra hours with this promising pupil in teaching him the art of surveying. By methods, apparently known to himself alone, he studied grammar and style; so that, though he never mastered the minute formalities of language, he could write vigorously, and, in the main, correctly. He kept notebooks, in which he carefully entered every precious aphorism—every bit of unusual learning—that came in his way, and thus he became intellectually rich. Though he was generally silent, we may be sure that whenever it became necessary to speak he never used the wrong word. Withal, he

was eminently truthful. The stories with which we are all familiar were gathered or invented by Mason L. Weems, a rather worthless clergyman, who at a much later date claimed to be the rector at Mount Vernon. That George Washington was in many respects a precocious boy is not to be doubted. Before he was out of his teens he was regularly employed as a surveyor by Lord Fairfax, who owned extensive tracts of land in the western part of the province. His stature was unusual and his physical strength was said to be enormous. Necessarily thrown into the company of men of culture, he learned how to conduct himself in their society, though he was never "a knight of the ballroom;" he laid little stress on the minor amenities of social life, though he was always careful to say and do the proper thing. He could turn a compliment in the style of Addison, but it was rarely spontaneous. He was believed to be destitute of the sense of humor, but is said on reflection to have laugned heartily on remembering a story which he had previously heard without a smile. In brief, in an age which esteemed personal dignity as the highest accomplishment he possessed that quality in a pre-eminent degree.

To tell the story of the early life of Washington is not our present purpose. His trials and escapes—his heroism in the French and Indian war and the honors which were conferred upon him by the provincial government—are not all these things written at length in the history of his country? There was, however, in his life, as in that of most other people, an event of transcendent importance, which was, from a social point of view, decidedly more interesting. When it became known that Colonel Washington was to marry the rich, young widow, Mar-

tha Dandridge Custis, society was greatly excited. The subject was, of course, discussed from every possible point of view, and the general conclusion was reached that it was an ideal match. The Colonel was already famous, and was otherwise socially eligible, while the bride belonged to the *creme de la creme* of society, and was withal the richest heiress in the province. We do not know much concerning the preliminaries of the marriage, for the bride burned her love-letters in later years, perhaps, for the purpose of protecting the dignity which in such communications is apt to become strained. We have, however, full accounts of the wedding, which was one of the most brilliant ever held in Virginia. "The bridegroom wore a suit of blue cloth, the coat being lined with red silk and ornamented with silver trimmings; his waistcoat was embroidered with white satin, his knee buckles were of gold and his hair was powdered. The bride was attired in white satin, a heavily corded white silk overdress, diamond buckles and pearl ornaments. The Governor, many members of the Legislature, British officers, and the neighboring gentry were present in full court dress. Washington's body-servant, Bishop, a tall negro, to whom he was much attached, and who had accompanied him on all his military campaigns, stood in the porch (of the church), clothed in the scarlet uniform of the royal army in the reign of George II. The bride and her three attendants drove back to the White House in a coach drawn by six horses, led by liveried postillions, Colonel Washington and an escort of cavaliers riding by its side."

The life of the Washingtons at Mount Vernon for the next fifteen years was very much like that of the higher classes in England. They kept

up a great establishment, but, as Mrs. Wasnington was an excellent manager, it is said that there was comparatively little waste. There were plenty of servants, and the table was abundantly furnished with guests, though it must be remembered that, as John Randolph said, there is a great difference between hospitality and familiarity. There were balls and receptions, and dignified ladies and gentlemen danced stately minuets, but, after all, this grandeur was but local, and must in time have become sufficiently tedious.

During the War of the Revolution there were in the camp seasons of trial and privation. Mrs. Washington visited her husband as often as possible, and patiently shared in the troubles of the times. Upham says that during the whole of the war the General was never known to smile. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that during this period the usages of good society were neglected. On the contrary, General Washington and all the members of his military family observed the strictest rules of etiquette. Thus, for instance, General Alexander—generally known as Lord Stirling, because he claimed to be the true heir to the earldom of that name—always insisted on being addressed as "My Lord," even by his superiors in military rank. European noblemen, like Lafayette, Steuben, Pulaski, De Woedtke and Du Portail, gave tone to the society, and De Kalb, one of the bravest generals of the line—keeping well his secret that he was not really of aristocratic birth—was, perhaps,the most dignified and punctilious of them all.

Of course, the Revolution was too popular and comprehensive to be exclusively directed by a single class. Old Indian fighters once more buckled on their armor, and soon achieved a

celebrity of which they had never dreamed. Generals like Israel Putnam, James Reed and Nicholas Herkimer performed prodigies of valor, but would never have confessed that the pen is mightier than the sword. These men were, of course, treated with the greatest possible respect, but it must be confessed that they never belonged to the intimate social circle that gathered around the person of the commander.

When the war was over it was found that the ideals of society had greatly changed. Fame had opened doors which could never afterwards be closed. Room was more readily made for the new-comers, because many of the social leaders had left the country. Old Virginia, however, remained firmly attached to its ancient ideals. When Washington became President he deemed it his duty to magnify his office in every possible way. He seems to have feared that in the young republic, official station would be vulgarized, and that the people would lose respect for the man who had been chosen to conduct the affairs of State. When it was doubted by what title the President should be addressed, Washington declared himself in favor of "Your High Mightiness," the words used in Holland in approaching the Stadtholder. The phrase was, however, rejected, as being too grandiloquent, and the more moderate term, "Your Excellency," was made to take its place.

We have read about the republican court of George Washington, but often fail to realize how closely it imitated the customs of European royalty. Higginson tells us that when the President rode to the sessions of Congress he went in a State-coach, of which the body was in the shape of a hemisphere, cream-colored, bordered with flowers 'round the panels, and orna-

mented with figures representing cupids and supporting festoons. On great occasions the coach was drawn by six horses, on ordinary occasions by four, and on Sundays by two only. The driver, footmen and outriders wore liveries of white and scarlet.

During his Presidency, Washington was careful to invite to dine all who might have claims on his hospitality. There were also weekly receptions, and these the members of Congress were expected to attend in regular order. The invitations were neatly engraved, and sealed in wax with the family arms of the President. To be invited to these receptions was regarded as a great honor, but Gouverneur Morris has recorded his impression that they were the most dreary functions that could possibly be imagined. "The President, arrayed in black velvet, with silver buckles on his knees, stood before the open fireplace and received his visitors like a demigod, never shaking hands or entering into familiar conversation."

It can hardly be said that Washington was successful in establishing a permanent social standard. A new party was coming to the front which insisted that great harm was done by the imitation of customs that prevailed in foreign countries. Washington himself did not escape severe criticism, but so far as we know he never changed his mind. He believed—as many others have believed since his day—that the greatest danger that besets a republic consists in the breaking of grand ideals. There is but a short step between vulgarity and crime, and a people which has lost respect for earthly dignities is only too apt to turn away from those which are heavenly.

Washington was a grand personality, but he was not exempt from human weakness. In the course of

time he has become to most of us a splendid ideal rather than a historic personage. As Stuart, the painter, glorified his features, so his biographers have idealized his life. Possibly he was too hard and cold to have many intimate friends, and his dignity might be less impressive now than it was in the days of his Presidency. There were, however, certain facts in his social relations which all succeeding generations should keep in memory. If society in the days of Washington was too dignified to be universally acceptable it can at least be confidently said that it was not foolish. It was not the period of shallow compliments and superficial graces. We appreciate the value of social enjoyment—there must be a place for amusements in every community, and without it life would hardly be worth living. There is, however, a nobler purpose in social life; it consists of the development of the higher qualities of our nature until they reach the greatest excellence of which they are susceptible. Our object is, in scriptural language, "That our sons may be as plants in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner-stones polished after the similitude of a palace."

Another peculiarity of social life in the days of Washington was the keen sense of honor by which it was constantly pervaded. It may be that men were sometimes led to punctilious extremes, but, after all, there was a universal feeling that

"Good name in man and woman
Is the immediate jewel of their souls."

Wealth and station were esteemed, as they deserved to be, but there was no temptation to condone the moral delinquencies of a millionaire. Social position was a treasure which money

could not buy. In this respect, at least, the social life of Washington presents us an example that cannot be too highly esteemed.

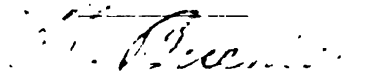
Study that period as closely as we may, we find no signs of decadence. Its tendency was upwards and onwards towards the realization of a grand ideal. To what extent it has been realized let others tell. We have traveled far, and the dust of the way is clinging to our feet; but in our social life. no less than in political, we still behold before us and above us the immortal form of Washington.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MARCH 2, 1906.



MAJOR JAMES HAMILTON: OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

MINUTES OF THE MARCH MEETING.

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Major James Hamilton: Of the Pennsylvania Line . . 71

By Miss Martha B. Clark.

Minutes of the March Meeting 90

MAJOR JAMES HAMILTON.

Hamilton. "This surname is derived from the Irish 'amhael,' Greek 'omalos,' Latin 'similis,' like, and 'thoovn,' a weave, and implies that the ancestor of the family was as impetuous in battle as the billows are at sea."

The name of Hamilton appears very frequently upon the early records of Lancaster county, and the similarity of the Christian names is very confusing to the genealogist. William Hamilton, of Salisbury township, and William Hamilton, of Leacock township, were residents of the eastern part of the county in colonial days, and extensive land owners. It is supposed they were cousins. The subject of this sketch is William Hamilton and Jane McMasters, of Leacock township, who was a native of Belfast, Ireland, and settled in Lancaster county prior to 1745. "Some authorities tell us the Hamiltons were living in the Pequea Valley in 1729—when near 6,000 emigrants from the north of Ireland arrived in this State, and for many years after the annual arrivals were 12,000. A large number settled in Lancaster and Chester counties, and in counties still further West. In the immediate vicinity of Pequea and Leacock churches the country was mainly settled by this class of people."—From Thanksgiving sermon by Rev. P. J. Timlow, November 23, 1854.

William Hamilton,also called Hattell Vernon,bought land from Hatwell Varman and Abigail, his wife, on May 1, 1745. This was part of a tract pat-

ented to Hatwell Varman by the proprietaries, John and Thomas Penn, in 1734, containing 600 acres. William Hamilton paid £200 Pennsylvania currency for 200 acres, adjoining Samuel Jones' and Joseph Branton's land. He also purchased from John Steere and wife. Rathol, March 9, 1749, a tract of land along Mill Creek, in Lampeter township, adjoining William McNabb's land, thence by Wm. Evans' land and land of James Smith, containing 200 acres. This tract was patented to John Steere and wife by John and Thomas Penn, 20th of March, 1734. The land owned, and where Mr. Hamilton resided, lay along the "old road," named in provincial days the King's Highway, adjoining Leacock Church. He followed successfully the tilling of his soil and the buying and selling of land until the 29th of August, 1767, when he purchased from Robert Clinch, innkeeper, and Hannah Vernor, his wife, two tracts of land, one of 310 acres, and another of 20 acres and 3 perches, for £2,400. This was part of a grant made by John and Thomas Penn to John Vernor, innkeeper, and Martha, his wife, June 16, 1741. The tract of twenty acres contained an inn, and when Mr. Hamilton was the proprietor was called the Brick Tavern.

As the early records state John Vernor was an innkeeper, and also Robert Clinch, his son-in-law, who sold the property to Mr. Hamilton, we presume it bore the same name at the time of purchase. This old hostelry stood to the east of the Leacock Presbyterian Church.

In 1773 William Hamilton, of Leacock township, paid a proprietary tax on 1,400 acres, showing he was a prosperous yeoman. He was a prominent member of Leacock Presbyterian

Church, where he is buried, and also many of his descendants. His tombstone on the north side of the church bears the following inscription:

WILLIAM HAMILTON,
Died October 17, 1781,
Aged 61 years,
and
JEAN,
the wife of William Hamilton,
Died November 4, 1800.
Aged 80 years.

He left five sons and three daughters: Hugh, William, John, who inherited and died upon his farm,in Leacock township; James and Robert. Mr. Hamilton was a true patriot, sending two sons to fight for the cause of freedom. Robert, his youngest son, was appointed an ensign in the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, in the United States, to take rank as such from the 23rd day of May, 1779, and signed by His Excellency, John Jay, Esq., July, 1779. It was attested by P. Scott, Secretary of the Board of War.

In the will of William Hamilton, dated September 17, A. D. 1779, he bequeathed to his son, James, "2,000 pounds, to be paid at my decease by my executors. I further allow that in case he should be wounded in his country's cause or in the army, so as to unfit him for getting a living in a genteel way, he shall have a comfortable and genteel living off my landed estate, to be proportionately borne by my legatees."

Major James Mercer was a witness to the will.

The following flattering extract, taken from a letter of Lieutenant Colonel, later General, Hand, of this county, to his wife, dated Camp Prospect Hill, November 10, 1775, says: "William Hamilton need not grudge

the money his son cost him. His coolness and resolution surpassed his years."

General James Hamilton, Governor of South Carolina.[1]

Major James Hamilton was the father of James Hamilton, born in Charleston, May 8, 1786, and he became one of the most prominent men of his native State. After graduating with high honors from his alma mater, he chose a military career, serving under Scott and Brown with credit in Canada. After the war he studied law with James L. Petigrew. He was chosen the chief executive officer, or the same position as the Mayor, of his native town for several years. He was sent to the Legislature and later to Congress, serving a number of years. He favored the custom of the times in settling disputes, and did not agree with Franklin when he said: "It is astonishing that the murderous practice of duelling should continue so long in vogue." He was Randolph's second in his duel with Henry Clay, and also for McDaffee in his duel with Col. Cummins. He was a warm friend and partisan of General Jackson, Governor of South Carolina in 1830, and became a nullifier and an able advocate of "States rights." He was interested in the cause of Texas and gave his personal service as well as his private fortune. In 1841, while Texas was an independent Republic, he was Minister to England and France and procured the recognition of her and her Republic. Upon the death of John C. Calhoun, in 1852, he was appointed his successor in the United States Senate, but declined the offer.

He died a hero, being lost in the col-

[1] Extracts from an article by Samuel Evans, on "Notes and Queries."

lision of the Galveston and Opelonsas, by yielding his chance of safety to a lady, an entire stranger, on his way to Texas.

His conduct was in sharp contrast to that of a prominent lawyer of Lancaster, who witnessed his wife's struggles in the Hudson River, at the "Henry Clay" disaster, without making supreme effort to save her life.

Major James Hamilton—Hero of Yorktown.

General Henry Lee, afterwards Governor of Virginia, in his memoirs of the War in the Southern Department, says: "Wayne had a constitutional attachment to the decision of the sword, and this cast of character had acquired strength from indulgence, as well as the native temper of the troops he commanded. They were known by the designation of the Line of Pennsylvania, whereas they might have been with more propriety called the Line of Ireland. Bold and daring, they were impatient and refractory, and would always prefer an appeal to the bayonet to a troublesome march." And Colonel Richard Butler, in his memoirs, also tells us: "It was in the final scenes about Yorktown that the 'esprit de corps' of the Pennsylvania troops shines out."

Lieutenant William Feltman, in his "Diary of the Pennsylvania Line," is most interesting, particularly as he was from Lancaster, and writes of the soldiers of this vicinity in the march of General Wayne from York, May 26, 1781, to April 25, 1782, to the South. Among the list we find the names of Captain John Doyle, Lieutenant Stewart Herbert, Lieutenant Weitzel, Captain John Steele, Lieutenant Wilber Bevins and others.

"On September 16, 1781. This afternoon at two o'clock I had the pleasure of being introduced to His Excellency, George Washington.

"October 15. This morning His Excellency, General Washington, sent a flag to Lord Cornwallis.

"October 17. Lord Cornwallis sent a flag he would surrender himself prisoner of war.

"The Hero of Yorktown. Under date of October 19, 1781. At one o'clock this day Major Hamilton, with a detachment, marched into town and took possession of the batteries and hoisted the American flag."

Other records state Ensign Denny was detailed to erect the flag. While he was in the act of planting it, Steuben galloped up, took the flag and planted it himself.

Miniature.

The copy of a miniature is the likeness I show you of Major James Hamilton in Continental uniform, giving the bright colors of our soldiers' dress. It was taken for his mother, and presented to her when a very young man. This miniature was in the possession of the descendants of his brother, Robert Hamilton, in Lancaster, until February, 1899. As Miss Rebecca Hamilton knew my love of research, I was commissioned to see if any of the family were still living in the Palmetto State, or whether the Civil War or Father Time had sent them all to the land of the Great Unknown. Upon writing to the State Regent, D. A. R., of South Carolina, for information, I was referred to Captain Randolph Hamilton, Chester, S. C. As I have preserved copies of letters relating to the miniature and other

data, I hope I may interest you in giving you some notes from them:

"Bluffton, South Carolina,
"June 4, 1858.

"My Dear Miss Hamilton: Through the public prints you were doubtless informed of the death of my revered father, General James Hamilton. Your letter to him was received but a short time before he left home, in November last. I need not assure you that the children of your kinswoman (myself, his only daughter, and five brothers) would value their grandfather's miniature, which you say is in your possession, and which you kindly offered.

"Your friend and kinswoman,
"ELIZABETH MIDDLETON."

PORTRAIT OF MAJOR HAMILTON.

No doubt the war with the South prevented the forwarding of the miniature, and the following letter was in answer to mine:

"Chester, S. C.,
"January 19, 1899.

"My Dear Madam: Your interesting and kind letter of the 10th came

safely to hand. I am the only surviving son of James and Elizabeth Heyward Hamilton. My father was the son of Major James Hamilton, of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, Wayne's Division of the Army of the Revolution. At or near the end he marched into South Carolina in command of his regiment, after Yorktown, and married Elizabeth Lynch, the daughter of Thomas Lynch, of Santee, and sister of Thomas Lynch, Jr., one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence from this State. My grandfather died in Charleston, November 26, 1833, in his eighty-fourth year, having been born in Lancaster county, September 16. 1750. He lived long enough to see his son, James Hamilton, Jr., after serving six years in Congress, elected Governor of South Carolina in 1830. At the time of his death my grandfather was President of the Society of the Cincinnati of South Carolina. The Elizabeth Middleton who wrote to Miss Rebecca Hamilton was my only sister. On returning to Bluffton, in the summer of 1858, as a convalescent from yellow fever contracted in the West Indies while serving as a Lieutenant on board of the U. S. Ship Susquehanna, I distinctly remember my sister showing me Miss Hamilton's letter, telling me she had answered it for my mother. If my memory serves me, I think Miss Hamilton's letter was written from Columbia, Pa. If Miss Hamilton will entrust to me the keeping of the miniature of grandfatner and her granduncle, I will care for it during my lifetime, to go to my son at my death. Or, if she prefer it, I will bequeath it, at my death, to the Cincinnati Society of this State.

"Very truly yours,

"JOHN RANDOLPH HAMILTON."

In reply Miss Hamilton desired the miniature should be given to the Society of the Cincinnnti, of which he was a prominent member.

"Chester, S. C.,
"February 10, 1899.

"My Dear Miss Clark: I only received your kind letter of the 4th inst. this evening. The miniature I received last night. It is a very beautiful painting of one who was considered the handsomest man in the American army, and if at that time he looked like his miniature it is not surprising that Elizabeth Lynch fell in love with him at sight. I will endeavor to obtain for you a copy of the proceedings of the Cincinnati Society. The tradition of my family was that my ancestors came from County Tyrone, Ireland, and that the family crest was an oak tree crossed with a saw, and the motto, 'Through.' Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy under James Madison, was a relative I have heard my father say.

"Yours very truly,
"JOHN RANDOLPH HAMILTON."

UNIV... CALIF...

Action Taken by the South Carolina Branch of the Cincinnati Society on Death of Major James Hamilton.

The special committee appointed by the Cincinnati Society, of South Carolina, to collect such facts and memoranda as they might be able to procure of the revolutionary services of their late President, Major James Hamilton, Sr., that the same may be recorded on their journals, beg leave respectfully to present the following brief memoir:

Major James Hamilton was born in the county of Lancaster, Penn-

sylvania, on the 16th of September, 1750. His ancestors were emigrants from the north of Ireland. His father was a highly respectable farmer, who resided in the vicinity of Lancaster, and who gave his son a classical education, with the view of qualifying him for the medical profession, the study of which he commenced with the celebrated Dr. Shippen, in 1774. Immediately, however, on the occurrence of the battle of Lexington young Hamilton, with all the enthusiasm of youthful patriotism, abandoned his professional studies and returned to Lancaster, where, together with James Ross (subsequently a distinguished officer of the Pennsylvania line) he raised a volunteer company of riflemen, which was composed principally either of Irishmen or the descendants of Irishmen, and of which James Ross was elected Captain, James Hamilton First Lieutenant and Frederick Hubley Second Lieutenant. This company having been organized with great despatch marched into Massachusetts in the spring of 1775 and joined the army at Cambridge.

These facts are minutely related because this company was one of the first corps which Pennsylvania sent to the assistance of her sister colony, then perilously assailed. It remained with the army in the vicinity of Boston, and was distinguished for its promptitude and order at the cannonade at Dorchester Heights, where it occupied a post of danger and distinction. When the British evacuated Boston Lieutenant Hamilton, with his company, marched with the rest of the army for New York, and took part at Long Island. Here the Pennsylvania volunteers exchanged their rifles for muskets, and were attached to one of the battalions of the line. This corps was, however, actively engaged

at the battle of Long Island, and gallantly participated in all the operations of the Grand Army in that vicinity, and on both sides of the Hudson river. The battalion to which it was attached was in evidence at the battle of White Plains. And in all the depressing and disastrous events which attended the close of the campaign of 1776, in General Washington's march through New Jersey, Lieut. Hamilton, amidst severe privations and sufferings, participated with an heroic fortitude, worthy of a young soldier, governed by no other sentiment than a lofty attachment to the honor of his country, and the success of that cause to which he was willing to devote his life, and all that was valuable of life.

With the returning tide of better fortune, it was also Lieut. Hamilton's destiny to be present at, and to be gallantly engaged in, the operations of General Washington on the Delaware. On Christmas eve of 1776 he crossed the river in Lord Sterling's division, and participated in the capture of the Hessians, and on the succeeding 3d of January, 1777, he commanded a company in the battle of Princeton. A greater part of the evening previous to this battle he passed with the gallant and lamented General Mercer, with whom he supped, and of this interview he often spoke with touching interest. Of the affecting contrast exhibited by the gushing enthusiasm and lofty aspirations with which the hero spoke, on that night of the august cause in which they were engaged, with his disastrous fate in everything, save in the halo, which must forever hover around his tomb.

These decisive successes on the part of the Americans, it is well known, threw all the southern portion

of New Jersey into the possession of General Washington. Hamilton, now Captain Hamilton, on an expedition from the main body, was attacked by a superior force near the enemy's outposts at Brunswick, and with a small detachment was captured near that place. He was, the next day, taken to the British headquarters at New York, when the Aide of the British Commander-in-chief, struck with his fine appearance and martial bearing, on reporting that an engaging young rebel had been taken, received from the Commander-in-chief orders to extend to him every kindness and courtesy compatible with the usages of war. The Adjutant General, in taking his parole, told him the British Commander would do him no greater harm than to give him a billet "on as great a rebel as himself."

After having been ten months a prisoner of war on Long Island Capt. Hamilton was exchanged. And on joining the army was offered by the gallant but unfortunate General St. Clair the appointment of Aide-de-Camp, in which capacity he served for a few months, until he was promoted, on the 10th of December, 1778, to a Majority in the Second Regiment of the Pennsylvania line. This regiment was commanded by Colonel Stuart, a highly accomplished and gallant Irishman, and was recruited principally from among the Irish settlers in Pennsylvania, and was distinguished in many of the most important battles of the Revolution, either in the van in the advance, or in retreat in covering the rear.

These brave sons of Erin were not, perhaps, as much distinguished in camp for systematic and uniform subordination as they were for their gallantry in action; for, when brought to the steel, they made their valor tell

upon the enemy. In the brilliant campaign of 1781, Major Hamilton had the honor, by reason of the sickness and consequent absence of Col. Stuart, to command the Second Regiment, which was attached to Wayne's memorable brigade, who, with this regiment and a detachment of the First, formed a junction with the Marquis Lafayette, on his retiring across the Rappahannock.

We regret that the extreme modesty and reserve with which Major Hamilton always spoke of his own services enable us to present but an imperfect record of the gallantry and enterprise which he is known to have exerted in these stirring events, which won for him so largely the esteem and confidence of his brother soldiers. We have it, however, in our power to weave into this narrative an account which we have lately received from Col. Aaron Ogden, of the New Jersey Line, of an affair during the march of the army, in which Major Hamilton displayed the decisive resources of an accomplished officer. We prefer, as the happiest and most appropriate medium of communication, using the account itself, and employing the very words of this venerable and distinguisher veteran, who, we are happy to know, yet lives among the surviving few "to tell us how much we owe them."

"In the memorable campaign (says Col. Ogden) in Virginia in 1781, General, the Marquis Lafayette,while commanding there, conceived a design of intercepting Col Simcoe's celebrated corps of 500 horse, then moving down on the north side of James River to join the army of Lord Cornwallis, then lying at Williamsburg, and for this purpose he detailed a sufficient force to reach, if possible, the road on which Simcoe was moving, at a certain point,

before he should arrive there. Although the march was very rapid, nevertheless, Simcoe passed about half an hour before our troops reached the designated spot. This detachment, thus sent by Gen. Lafayette, was preceded by a legionary corps, consisting of three companies of foot (of which, being the eldest Captain, I had the honor to command), 60 horse under the command of Major Hughes, the whole being under the command of Major William McPherson. This legion was considerably in advance, and as soon as it was ascertained that Simcoe had passed on, the cavalry, with an infantry soldier behind each dragoon, pursued and within two miles came in sight of the enemy. They were refreshing, on an eminence in a large open field. When we had approached sufficiently near, the infantry dismounted, and Major McPherson, with great gallantry, charged Simcoe's corps, so suddenly that their horses were yet unbridled. It was not long, however, before Major McPherson's cavalry were obliged to fall back upon his infantry, which maintained their ground and drove back the enemy. McPherson became dismounted, and Hughes wounded, both put hors de combat. Simcoe was drawing up a short distance for a second charge, when Major Hamilton came up most opportunely, at the critical moment, with a small detachment, and taking command of the whole, with great skill and judgment formed them in a hollow square, and gave orders not to fire, but to receive the horse of the enemy on the point of the bayonet. Having reconnoitered entirely around our square, Col. Simcoe gave up his threatened charge, and resumed his march to join Lord Cornwallis, then within the distance of four miles. I have always ascribed the safety of

this body of men under Major Hamilton (of whom those under my command were a part) to his skill, intrepidity, and coolness in forming them in an open field, and within a small distance of a very superior number of the best forces of the enemy.

"On the 25th September, of this campaign, the army at last rendezvoused at Williamsburg, preparatory to the siege at Yorktown, and in this siege the Second Regiment, under command of Major Hamilton, in conjunction with the rest of Wayne's brigade, bore a conspicuous part. It was, perhaps, in special reference to the command of this gallant veteran (whose very daring obtained for him the appellation of 'Mad Anthony') that General Washington issued his memorable order at Yorktown which contains as much of the pith of the simple yet sublime in military writing as is anywhere to be found. 'If the enemy (said he) should be tempted to meet the army, the General particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the boast which the British make of their peculiar prowess in deciding battle with that weapon.'

"The events of this siege are too well known as matters of history to require any notice on the present occasion. It will be sufficient to state that on the surrender of Lord Cornwallis the Second Regiment, under Major Hamilton, was one of those forming the command of Baron Steuben, which, as a guard of honor, took possession of the British redoubts.

"After the surrender the Second Regiment was detached to reinforce Gen. Greene in the South, and Major Hamilton marched through Virginia and North Carolina, and joined the

Southern Fabius at his headquarters at Ashley River. In the course of the operations in that vicinity, he was detached at the head of 300 picked men to support Col. Laurens, but on his arrival at Parker's Ferry he heard of the death of that gallant officer in his ill-fated expedition to Combahee. These events bring the war of the Revolution nearly to its close and terminated the military services of Major Hamilton, with the exception of an attempt which he made to surprise Col. Craig's post on John's Island, near the Church Flats, which failed along from the desertion of his guide and the darkness of the night."

From this narrative it will be seen that Major Hamilton was present when the first gun was fired at the heights of Dorchester; that he was in most of the subsequent important battles, and that he was in one of the last, if not the very last, military enterprise of the glorious struggle

At the disbanding of the army he became a citizen of South Carolina, and was united in marriage to a lady of the same State, a daughter of Thomas Lynch, Sr., one of the three Representatives that South Carolina sent to the first Colonian Congress which met after the passage of the Stamp Act at Annapolis; this lady was likewise the sister of Thomas Lynch, Jr., one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

The private events of a life which was marked by a tranquility and repose in perfect keeping with the modesty of Major Hamilton's character, the committee considered not strictly within their province, but they are quite sure they would perform their duty in a manner unsatisfactory to a society in which Major Hamilton was held in such high esteem, if they said nothing of those virtues which

caused him to be loved wherever he was known.

As an officer, he was active, vigilant and brave to a degree of constitutiona. coolness which gave to his valor the appearance of instinct, as well as the aspect of a chivalrous sentiment. He was a great and decided favorite with all the general officers under whom he served. The fault they ever found with him was not when he met the enemy, but in camp with his own troops, towards whom his goodness of heart revolted against the application of a severe and unrelenting discipline. His old commander, General Wayne, whose advance he commanded on many occasions, and who cherished for him a friendship and affection amounting to the highest pitch of personal and military attachment, used to say of him that he spared every man in his command but himself, and if he would only make those under him do their duty as he did his own, he would make the best officer of his rank in the service.

Your committee are aware that these are at best but imperfect details of patriotic and valuable services. They belong to a class of public recollection, they fear, that are fast fading away; but if even these few facts regarding one of that band who fought to make our country what she is, are rescued from oblivion, their labors have been compensated, if in no other way, at least as serving as an occasion for recalling to our memories and perpetuating on our records the portrait of a gallant and esteemed soldier, a man devoid of all selfishness and vanity, "without one drop of gall in his whole constitution," who, with a heart overflowing with human kindness, knew no fear, except the fear of offending his God, and who lived, we believe, without having made, or who

at least died without deserving to make a single enemy.

The beautiful picture which Sterne has drawn of the benevolence and sensibility of his hero has never, to the honor of human nature, been a mere fiction. The individual whose virtues we have attempted to commemorate might have sat as the original (for those qualities at least) of that fine impersonation of all that is delightful in the character of an old soldier, whose touching tenderness of heart adds fresh grace to his steady and unfaltering valor.

The end of our venerable friend comported with the serenity of his whole life. On the night of the 26th of November, 1833,in his eighty-fourth year, he yielded up his spirit and died with the composure of a veteran.

".....Taking his rest
With his martial cloak around him,"

with a smile on his countenance, the mild, yet determined, cast of which death seemed rather to touch with additional calmness than to impair.

By the Cincinnati Society both his fraternal and parental intercourse will be long remembered. He has gone, however, to join in a world of peace those compatriots who once gave life and dignity to our Society, who presided at our councils and graced our festive board—"those bravest of the brave," whose virtues, whose services, and whose memories it is at once the most balmy and sacred office of patriotism to honor, cherish and defend.

Edward R. Laurens, Orator for 4th July, 1835.

Certificate of Membership of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati.

Be it known that "John Stricker," Esquire, is a member of the Society of

the "Cincinnati," instituted by the Officers of the American Army at the period of its dissolution as well to commemorate the great event which gave Independence to North America as for the laudable purpose of inculcating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public defence and of uniting in Acts of brotherly affection and bonds of perpetual friendship the members constituting the same.

In Testimony Whereof I the President of the said Society have hereunto set my hand at Mount Vernon in the State of Virginia this Thirty-first day of October in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-five and in the Tenth year of the Independence of the United States.

G. WASHINGTON,
President

By order,
H. Knox,
Secretary.

John Stricker was a charter member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. He was commissioned an Ensign of the Second Pennsylvania in 1777; Second Lieutenant on October 1, 1777, and First Lieutenant May 1, 1779. He was transferred to the Third Pennsylvania January 1, 1783, and served to June, 1783. He is frequently mentioned in Feltman's Journal of the Pennsylvania Line. John Stricker died in Philadelphia of yellow fever in 1789, as did also his wife. He is the ancestor of Charles G. Strickler, of this city.

"But now my task is smoothly done,
I can fly or I can run."

—Milton.

Minutes of the March Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., March 2, 1906.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met statedly this (Friday) evening, in its rooms, in the Young Men's Christian Association building, President Steinman in the chair.

The roll of officers was called, and, owing to a press of business, the reading of the minutes was, on motion, dispensed with.

Mr. H. L. Raub, of Lancaster, whose name was presented for membership at the last meeting, was duly elected, and the names of Prof. A. V. Hiester and Mrs. A. V. Hurst, also of the city, were presented, and, under the rules, lie over until the next meeting for action.

The donations to the Society consisted of the lately-published Pictorial History of Lititz, presented by J. G. Zook; Scott's map of Lancaster county, a desirable acquisition, presented by James D. Landis; History of the Empire Hook and Ladder Company of this city, and a large number of old-time funeral notices, by Daniel H. Heitshu; Hartmyer marriage certificate and old bond of 1841, by S. M. Sener, and sundry publications from Congressman Cassel, New York State Library, Lebanon County Historical Society, Carnegie Library at Pittsburg, American Philosophical Society, Columbia University Library, Herman E. Hoch, A. K. Hostetter, Kansas State Library and Hamilton Library, of Carlisle. The thanks of the Society were, on motion, extended to all the above donors.

The paper of the evening was by Miss Martha B. Clark, on Major James Hamilton, of the Continental Line, a most gallant officer of our own county, who distinguished himself in the principal battlefields of the Revolution from its opening to its close. The paper, in addition to the sketch of Major Hamilton himself, also presented biographical memoranda of his distinguished father and some other members of this noted family. The paper was received with much favor, and the subsequent discussion it called forth was at once interesting and valuable. The thanks of the Society were extended to the writer of the paper, and it was ordered to be printed in the usual way, and illustrated with a portrait of Major Hamilton, which was also exhibited.

R. M. Reilly, Esq., Chairman of the committee appointed to prepare a new Constitution and By-Laws, reported that the committee had performed that duty, and presented the result of their deliberations. A few emendations were suggested, and the document was then laid over, to be finally acted upon at the next meeting of the Society.

An invitation was received by the Society from the American Philosophical Society, founded by Benjamin Franklin,to participate in the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Society, on April 17th, 18th and 19th. The invitation was accepted, and Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs, F. R. Diffenderffer and Miss Martha Clark were elected to represent the local Society at the celebration.

The attendance was the largest the Society has seen for a number of years, the room being uncomfortably crowded. The attendance between the male and female members was about equal, and the county was represented

as well as the city, indicating that the Society is more and more attracting the favorable attention of the community.

There being no further business, the Society, on motion, adjourned.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

APRIL 6, 1906.

WASHINGTON AT LANCASTER.

SOME OLD DOCUMENTS.

EARLY LANCASTER THEATRE.

EXTRACT FROM AN OLD WILL.

MINUTES OF THE APRIL MEETING.

COMMODORE JOHN BARRY.

VOL. X. NO. 4.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1906.

Washington at Lancaster - - - - - - - - 93
By F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D.

Some Old Documents - - - - - - - - - 109
By Frank Elser Schnerer.

Early Lancaster Theatre - - - - - - - - 114
By F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D.

Extract from an Old Will - - - - - - - 120

Minutes of the April Meeting - - - - - - 123

Commodore John Barry - - - - - - - - 126
By R. M. Reilly, Esq.

WASHINGTON AT LANCASTER.

There has recently come into the possession of our President, Mr. Steinman, a-half sheet of paper on which is written a song or a poem, composed one hundred and twelve years ago, and especially prepared to meet a very important occasion that transpired on July 4, 1794, in the old Court House, which stood on the spot where the soldiers' monument now stands. The poem, while written in fairly good taste and well suited to the occasion that called it forth, can hardly lay claim to superior poetic fancy or literary attainment. It is just such a piece of verse as a man of good literary culture at that day would write.

The good patriots of Lancaster had decided to celebrate the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence on the Fourth of July, 1794. No doubt they were in the habit of doing that annually. We know that they did the same thing in 1791. We learn also from that sturdy, patriotic diarist, Christopher Marshall, that they did the same thing in 1779, for he describes it in his usual graphic way. The Fourth of July in that year fell on a Sunday, so the celebration was held on the following Monday. There was a meeting at the Court House at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when a local committee, headed by Marshall himself, who writes: "Two by two, with the Corporation officials, Glatz's regiment, other officers and their battalions, with colors flying, drums beating, fifes playing and a band of

music, went in procession down (South) Queen street to a spacious piece of woodland, adjoining Conestoga Creek, with a fine Spring,[1] where after some time spent in social cheerfulness, the men having grounded their arms, they then formed in order, whereupon the following toasts were drank, I being the Toast Master, viz.:

"First. The True Independence and Sovereign States of America.

"Second. The Great Council of America.

"Third. His Most Christian Majesty, Louis 16th.

"Fourth. His Excellency, General Washington.

"Fifth. The American Army and Navy, may they be victorious and invincible.

"Sixth. The Nations in Friendship and Alliance with America.

"Seventh. The American Ambassadors at Sovereign Courts.

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[1]There is nothing like publicity to bring out unknown or forgotten facts. When this paper was read before the Historical Society various inquiries and surmises were made relative to what spring was referred to in Mr. Marshall's account of the Fourth of July celebration in 1779, but no satisfactory conclusion was reached. The question has since been referred to that veteran antiquarian, Mr. John F. Sehner, who was prompt to shed a flood of light on the subject. He is the owner of the only copy of the "Lancaster Zeitung und Anzeigs Nachrichten" still in existence. In that newspaper for June 25, 1788, appears the following brief, but interesting paragraph: "Tuesday, June 10, 1788. The Federal procession, in honor of the adoption of the new Federal Constitution, was formed in the borough as follows: First came the boat Federal; Second Captain F——y, then Captain F.'s company and citizens by files—marching to the big spring at Conestoga, and, repairing to the river, the boat "Federal" was launched into the stream, amid thirteen rousing cheers. The crowd then adjourned to the nearby public house of John Swenk, near the river, and regaled themselves and toasted the new Constitution, after which the procession re-

"Eighth. The Memory of the Officers and Soldiers Who Have Fallen in Defense of America.

"Ninth. Pennsylvania.

"Tenth. May Only Those Americans Enjoy Freedom Who Are Ready to Die for Its Defense.

"Eleventh. Liberty Triumphant.

"Twelfth. Confusion, Shame and Disgrace to Our Enemies; May the Foes of America, Slaves to Tyranny, Humble and Fall Down Before Her.

"Thirteenth. May the Rising States of America Reach the Summit of Human Power and Grandeur by Enjoying Every Blessing.

"Each of these toasts was attended by a discharge of musketry that would have done honor to old veterans, after which they all returned under the same regularity, marched through some of the principal streets and drew up in front of (the) Court House, where they discharged three regular volleys of musketry (and) received every man some cool drink. I then

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turned to the borough." The hill and spring, now embraced by what is known as "Gable's Park," was after that occurrence known as "Federal Hill" and "Federal Spring"' To this day the spring is called by that name by our older citizens and some not so old. Mr. Sehner informs me that when he was a boy public gatherings were commonly held at Federal Hill. The march of the processions was generally down South Queen street to the Conestoga and thence along that stream to Benjamin Hertzler's lane, to the spring and woods. Sometimes the route was varied by going down Prince street. All the foregoing once more demonstrates the great importance of preserving and recording not only old newspapers, but also the recollections of old citizens, who, in the course of nature, must in a few years take their departure, bearing along with them many valuable facts and incidents illustrative of our local history. The sources of history are many, and where certain facts may at times seem trifling, they are always valuable, for there always comes a time when they become available for the historian's purposes.

went into the front, thanked the officers and privates, in the name of the Committee, for their great zeal shown in the support of the Freedom of Independency in general, for their manly prudence, good conduct and sobriety on this memorable occasion, for which they returned me their hearty thanks. The Col. then dismissed them and they departed in good humor, peace and harmony, the Committee broke up and I returned home completely tired, yet pleased with our conduct."

Friend Christopher was a Quaker, but the above shows that his attachment to the cause of the Colonies was as strong as that which he held for the gentle Quaker faith. Unfortunately for us, there are no old newspaper files of that early time to refer to, else, no doubt, we would know how the birthday of the nation fired their patriotic hearts as often as it came along.

But this is digression, and I must return to the poem and its author long enough to state that the poem, of which the original is shown to you, was the product of John Moore, Esq., a member of the Lancaster Bar, to which he was admitted in 1789. The name of "Liberty Hall" could, of course, be applied to the old Court House itself, in which these worthy sons of liberty, the members of the Continental Congress, had met for a short time in 1777 when driven out of Philadelphia by the approach of Lord Howe's army. If you should ask me further about our poet author, who and what he was, I would have to reply, I do not know. I have been unable to find any further record of him and his career. Doubtless he was one of the many legal luminaries, past, present and to come, admitted

to practice in our courts, who, being of mediocre ability, continue to eke out some sort of an existence without leaving much of an impression on their day and generation. That he was singled out from among his legal brethren to write this song, and sing it also, leads to the inference that he must have had a reputation both as a writer and vocalist.

Since the above was written and read further inquiry has brought to light a few additional particulars relative to John Moore, Esq. When the matter was referred to Mr. John F. Sehner, than whom no man living has a better knowledge of old Lancaster, its people and its history, he at once recalled some interesting facts relative to our patriotic minstrel. Mr. Moore lived on the north side of East King street, between Lime and Shippen streets. How long he lived there or when he died is not remembered. One of his sons, George, became postmaster in this city. A daughter of John Moore married a brother of John Andrew Shulze, who was Governor of Pennsylvania from 1823 to 1829. Some of her descendants are still living in this city.

Miss Elizabeth Batterson Gara, of this city, whose granduncle John Moore, Esq., was, has kindly contributed the following further information relative to that individual and his family:

John Moore, Esq., of Lancaster, was a member of the Lancaster Bar, a man of ability, of fine social qualities, a fine musician and vocalist. He was a son of George Moore, who lived on East King street, between Lime and Shippen streets. He was on the Committee of Safety for Lancaster (Penna. in the Revolution, Volume 4, page 295). The family were wealthy and owned considerable property around Lancaster. The family were devoted Episcopalians, and among the earliest members of St. James' Church; all are buried in St. James' churchyard. John Moore, Esq., was a grandson of Alexander Moore and Susanna, his wife, who lived near Reading, Pa. Alexander Moore was a Scotchman, who came to this country very early, and his wife was a descendant of John Gardner, who came over from England with William Penn at the first settling of Pennsylvania (The

LIBERTY HALL.

Composed for the Anniversary of American Independence at Lancaster, July 4th, 1794.

Sung by John Moore, Esquire.

Here with Freedom, we act, Here with Freedom we think,
Then let us fill for a toast such as Freemen should drink.
'Tis a toast we will stand by, not fearing to fall,
An American Birthright, 'tis "Liberty Hall."

This building so spacious America framed,
When freedom was first in this Country proclaimed.
We've fought for, We've gained it, attend to the Call
To prepare a grand charge in our "Liberty Hall."

Lo! far distant Nations behold our great plan
And approve by adopting as soon as they can.
See the Efforts of Tyrants exploded by all,
See the World is on fire for a Liberty Hall.

In vain shall the Despots together unite
To enslave all their race and to tread on man's right.
Fell misfortune will ever their purpose enthrall
Who oppose the erecting of Liberty Hall.

Oh! where is this Hall the sly Tory demands.
Since you praise it so much I would know where it stands.
Its foundation so firm is, it never can fall,
For each soul uncontroll'd has its Liberty Hall.

Then in this glorious cause let the sail be unfurl'd,
And the Blessing extending encompass the world,
May Liberty's Sun still illumine this Ball,
And the universe be one great Liberty Hall.

Moravian records at church in Lancaster). The Moore family moved to Lancaster about 1767. One of the sisters, Margaret, married Matthias Graeff, a Revolutionary soldier, who died at Bethlehem. She afterwards married John Okely, Esq., of Bethlehem, Pa.

The Court House Where the Fourth of July Celebrations Were Held.

This celebration on July 4, 1794, serves to recall one other and more important celebration in our old Court House in that historic day. It was in 1791, when General Washington, then the President of his country, reached this city on that eventful day and joined our fathers in celebrating the auspicious event.

General Washington, as is well known, thrice visited Lancaster. These three visits are perfectly authenticated, as you all know, not only by contemporary documents but also by Washington's entries in his well-known diary. While all this is familiar to most of you, there may still be some who have forgotten the attending circumstances; therefore, with your permission, I will set forth the events of this earlier recorded Independence Day to go with the one when our poem was written and sung.

In the centennial issue of the Lancaster Intelligencer, March 9, 1895, there is an account of the visit of General Washington to this city on July 3 and 4, 1791. On the 21st day of March he left Philadelphia to make a tour of the Southern States, during the course of which he went as far south as Savannah. On his way back to Philadelphia he reached the town of York July 2, where he was accorded a public reception. He left that place on July 3 for Lancaster, to which place he had been invited by the citizens of Lancaster. Of that tour the following record is to be found in his diary: "March 21.—Left Philadelphia about 11 o'clock to make a tour through the Southern States. Reached Chester about 3 o'clock, dined and lodged at Mr. Wythes. In this tour I was accompanied by Major Jackson—My equipage and attendance consisted of a Chariot and four

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

horses drove in hand—a ligh. baggage wagon and two horses—four saddle horses besides a led one for myself—and five—to wit—my Valet de Chambre, two footmen, Coachman and postillion." There was nothing slow about that outfit. It is well known that Washington liked style, and a good deal of it, and when he went traveling the public was pretty sure to find it out. But then, who had a better right to do this than the man own owned 50,000 acres of land and was worth more than half a million dollars?

Under date of July 3 he says that he departed for Wright's Ferry, accompanied by a delegation of York citizens, in order to be present at Lancaster at the celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of American Independence. Of this visit we cull the following remarks from his diary under the dates of July 2, 3 and 4: "Reached York Town where we dined and lodged—After dinner in company with Col. Thomas Hartley & other gentlemen I walked through the principal streets of the Town and drank Tea at Col. Hartley's. The Ct. Ho. (Court House) was illuminated." (All the bells of the place were rung in honor of the event, and in the evening there was a general illumination, and in the Court House a light was set in every pane.)

"Received and answered an address from the inhabitants of Yorktown—& there being no Episcopal Minister present in the place, I went to hear morning Service performed in the Dutch (German) Reformed Church—which being in that language not a word of which I understood, I was in no danger of becoming a proselyte to its religion by the eloquence of the Preacher.

UNIV OF CALIFORNIA

"After Service, accompanied by Col. Hartley & half a dozen other gentlemen, I set off for Lancaster—Dined at Wright's Ferry, where I was met by Genl. Hand & many of the principal characters of Lancaster & escorted to the town by them, arriving ab't 6 o'clock." On the 4th (Monday) at Lancaster he writes: "This being the anniversary of American Independence and being kindly requested to do it, I agreed to halt here this day and partake of the entertainment which was preparing for the celebration of it. In the forenoon I walked about the town—At half passed 2 o'clock I received and answered an address from the corporation and the Complim'ts of the Clergy of different denominations—dined between 3 & 4 o'clock—drank Tea with Mrs. Hand."

In an old Philadelphia newspaper of July 13, 1791, "printed by Hall and Sellers,issued from their new printing office near the Market," the entire top of its four pages having been torn off and missing, but which I have since ascertained from other sources was the "Philadelphia Gazette," I found the address sent to General Washington, inviting him to stop over in this Borough of Lancaster on his return to Philadelphia, and be present at the anniversary celebration of the Declaration of Independence. As I have never seen that letter in a local print, I have transcribed it that it may appear in our proceedings, and as a matter of easy reference hereafter.

The following is the extract copied from the Lancaster correspondent of the Philadelphia Gazette:

"Lancaster (Pennsylvania) July 3, 1791.

"This evening at 6 o'clock, arrived here, on his return from his Southern Tour, his Excellency, the President of the United States, accompanied by Major Jackson. He was escorted from Wright's Ferry by a respectable number of the inhabitants of this borough; and on Monday, being July 4, being the anniversary of American Independence, the Corporation, at the particular request of the inhabitants, waited on him with the following address:

"'To George Washington, President of the United States:

"'Sir: On behalf of the inhabitants of the borough of Lancaster, the members of the Corporation beg leave to congratulate you on your arrival at this place. On this jovial occasion, they approach the First Magistrate of the Union with hearts impressed with no less grateful respect than their fellow-citizens of the East and South. With them they have admired those talents, and that firm prudence in the field, which finally ensured success to the American arms. But at this time, reverence forbids the language which would naturally flow from the recapitulation of the events of the late glorious revolution. The faithful page of history will record your illustrious actions for posterity. Yet we cannot forbear to mention what we, in our day, have beheld and witnessed. We have seen you at the awful period, when the storm was bursting around us, and our fertile plains were deluged with the richest blood of America, rising above adversity, and exerting all the talents of the patriot and the hero, to save our country from the threat-

ened ruin; and when, by the will of Heaven, these exertions had restored peace and prosperity to the United States, and the great object for which you drew the sword was accomplished, we have beheld you, adorned with every private, social virtue mingling with your fellow citizens. Yet that transcendent love of country, by which you have always been actuated, did not suffer you to rest here;—but when the united voice of myriads of freemen (your fellow citizens) called you from the repose of domestic life, actuated solely by the principles of true glory—not seeking your own aggrandizement, but sacrificing the sweets of retired life to the wishes and happiness of your country, we have beheld you, possessed of the confidence of a great people, presiding over their councils, and, by your happy administration, uniting them together by the great political bond of one common interest.

"'It is, therefore, that the inhabitants of this borough seize with joy the only opportunity which has offered to them, to testify their approbation of, and their gratitude for, your services.

"'Long, very long, sir, may you enjoy the affections of your fellow-citizens. We pray for a long continuance of your health and happiness, and the choicest blessings of Heaven on our beloved Country—and on You—its Father and its Friend.

"'July 4.

"'Signed on behalf of themselves and the inhabitants of the borough of Lancaster.

"'EDWARD HAND
"'PAUL ZANTZINGER,
"'JOHN HUBLEY,
"'Burgesses;

" 'ADAM REIGART,
" 'JACOB KRUG,
" 'CASPER SHAFFNER,
" 'JACOB FREY,
" 'Assistants.'

"To which the President was pleased to return the following

ANSWER:

" 'To the Corporation and the Inhabitants of the Borough of Lancaster.

" 'Gentlemen: Your congratulations on my arrival in Lancaster are received with pleasure, and the flattering expressions of your esteem are replied to with sincere regard.

" 'While I confess my gratitude for the distinguished estimation in which you are pleased to hold my public service, a sense of justice to my fellow-citizens ascribes to other causes the peace and prosperity of our highly-favored country. Her freedom and happiness are founded in their patriotic exertions, and will, I trust, be transmitted to distant ages through the same medium of wisdom and virtue. With sincere wishes for your social, I offer an earnest prayer for your individual welfare.

" 'G. WASHINGTON.'

"At 3 o'clock the President and a very large number of citizens sat down to an elegant entertainment, provided for the occasion, in the Court House."

"Fifteen regular toasts," the Intelligencer's brief account states, "were given, and finally President Washington gave the toast, 'The Governor and State of Pennsylvania' and retired, when the company arose and volunteered a toast, 'The Illustrious President of the United States.' "

His Second Visit.

General Washington's second visit was made a little more than three years after the first. This visit was occasioned through the stress of official business–the well-known "Whisky Insurrection" in the western counties of the State. He set out from Philadelphia on Tuesday, September 30, to visit the army being collected at Carlisle, to march against the Insurrectionists. He says in his diary under the above date:

"Having determined from the Report of the Commissioners, who were appointed to meet the Insurgents in the Western Counties in the State of Pennsylvania, and from other circumstances—to repair to the places appointed for the Rendezvous, of the Militia of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia; I left the City of Philadelphia about half-past ten o'clock this forenoon accompanied by Col. Hamilton (Secretary of the Treasury) and my private secretary (Bartholomew Dandridge)—Dined at Norris Town and lodged at a place called the Trap—the first 17 and the latter 25 miles from Philadelphia."

I shall not follow his itinerary as given in his diary any closer than to say it led him to Reading, Harrisburg, Carlisle and Chambersburg. Thence to Cumberland, Maryland, Bedford, Penna., and eastward until we again find him at York. At Wright's Ferry he made this entry in his diary:

"I rode yesterday afternoon, (Oct. 25) thro' the rain from York Town to this place (Wright's Ferry), and got twice in the height of it hung (and delayed by that means), on the rocks in the middle of the Susquehanna.....I do not intend further than Lancaster to-day (Sunday 26). But on Tuesday, if no accident happens, I expect to be

landed in the city of Philadelphia." No accident appears to have happened and the American Daily Advertiser, of Philadelphia, duly announced his arrival in that city on Tuesday morning, October the 28th.

From these extracts it is very clear that Washington spent the night of October 26, 1794, in this city, leaving for Philadelphia on the 27th. As his homeward journey was hurriedly made, and as the time of his coming was not known, no special preparations for his reception appear to have been made.

It has been a matter of considerable speculation where General Washington lodged on this occasion. Tradition has it that it was at the Grape Hotel, then kept by John Michael, the elder. I have never been able to determine whether there was more truth than fiction in this report. It is possible that he may have lodged with one of his old-time friends.

The Third Visit.

It has been established by incontestable evidence that General Washington passed through Lancaster a third time. It was while he was President, in 1796. The testimony is brief, but decisive. I will give all of it that has so far made its appearance.

On September 21 the Pennsylvania Gazette, of Philadelphia, had this announcement:

"Monday last (September 19) the President of the United States left this city on his journey to Mount Vernon."

On September 23, the Lancaster Journal contained the following brief paragraph:

"The President of the United States arrived here on Tuesday afternoon last, September 20, and on Wednesday

morning at 6 o'clock proceeded on his way to Mount Vernon."

The Philadelphia Gazette republished this item from the Lancaster Journal.

That makes it clear that he passed the night of September 20-21, 1796, in this city. There is no evidence to show where he lodged. Between his first and last visit he passed from Philadelphia and New York to Mount Vernon and back again many times, but not by the Lancaster route.

He only came North once after his retirement from the Presidency. It was in 1798. He left Mount Vernon, on November 5, 1798, and reached Philadelphia on November 10, to consult with the Secretary of War, where he remained until December 14, when he set out on his homeward journey. going by the route generally taken by him, that is by the way of Chester, Wilmington, Elkton, Baltimore and Washington.

SOME OLD DOCUMENTS.

Quite recently a number of legal papers came into my possession, among them being an advertisement, letters of administration, confirmation of sale, and all in first-class condition.

The advertisement is none of the elaborate or illuminated order as we see in our modern times. Its size is 6½x8 inches, note paper, closely written, in a bold hand.

For the benefit of the members of the Society, I will give it verbatim:

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"To be sold by way of Public Vendue on Saturday the First day of July next a certain Messuage & lot of ground Situate in the Town of Heidelberg in Heidelberg Township in the County of Lancaster late the Estate of Theophelus England deceased the said sale will be held on the premises where attendance will be given by Jacob Snearer,[1] Administrator &c of the said Theophelus England dec'd.

"By order of Orphans Court in & for the County of Lancaster aforesaid.

"EDWARD SHIPPEN, Clerk."

"Lancaster, June 6th, 1775."

Theophelus England was more or less closely identified with the early history of the town of Heidelberg, now Schaefferstown, Lebanon county. It would appear that for a short period of time he filled the position as pastor[2] of the Lutheran Church there.

[1] Originally spelled Schnuerer, now Schnerer.

[2] Indebted to A. S. Brendle, Esq., Schaefferstown.

The lot referred to in the advertisement, and owned by him, is situated in the northern part of the town, and is now owned and used by the Evangelical Church as a cemetery.

He died in the beginning of the year 1775, leaving a number of creditors, of whom Jacob Snearer was the highest, as will be seen by the following:

"Pennsylvania, ss.:

"Benjamin Chew, Register General for the Probate of Wills and granting letters of Administration in and for the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware.

"To Jacob Snearer (Highest creditor of Theophelus England dec'd), of the County of Lancaster.

"Greeting."

The letters recite that the Administrator shall make a true and perfect inventory of the goods and chattels, etc., of the deceased, and exhibit it at the Register's office on or before the 4th day of May, 1776, and to render a true and just account on or before April 14, 1776.

The letters are dated at Lancaster, 14th of April, 1775. Edward Shippen, Register.

That the sale was held on the date as set forth in the advertisement is clearly shown in the report made by the administrator at an Orphans' Court held at Lancaster on the sixth day of September, 1775, "before Emanuel Carpenter, James Burd and Everard Gruber, Esquires, Justices of the said Court."

The report recites that, "Pursuant to an order of this Court of the Sixth day of June, 1775.....Did sell the same tract or Tenement & lot of ground to

a certain Peter Elser, for Fourty six pounds & five shillings lawful money, that being the highest and best price bid, and that the said Peter Elser was the highest and best bidder.

"Said report being read and considered. The said sale is confirmed and approved by the Court and ordered to be and remain stable forever.

"By the Court.

"EDWARD SHIPPEN, Clerk."

On August 8, 1775, the administrator exhibited into the Register's office an account, of which the following is a copy:

"The Account of Jacob Schnierer Administrator all and Singular the Goods & Chattels Rights and Credits which were of Theophelus England late of Heidelberg Township in the County of Lancaster, Yeoman deceased as well of such of the goods and Chattels, Rights & Credits of the said dec'd as have come to the hands of the said accountant as of his payment and Disbursements out of the same as follows viz.:

IMPRIMIS.

The said accountant charges himself with the amount of the sale of the house and lot in Heidelberg township, sold by order of the Orphans Court:	£	s.	d.
To Peter Elser, for the sum of	46	5	
Balance due to this accountant	20	2	
	66	7	—

ITEM.

The said accountant prays an allowance of his payments and disbursements out of the same, as follows, vizt.:	£	s.	d.
To cash retained in his hands, a debt due from deceased to the said administrator, a Bond and Interest	58	1	8
Cash paid letters Admin...	1	2	6

	£	s.	d.
To cash paid Michael Winder, per receipt.....	0	5	0
To cash paid Michael Bright, per Recpt.....	0	2	6
To cash paid OrphansCourt, expense for an order of sale	2	2	0
To cash aid for Advertisement	0	6	0
To cash retained to discharge the expense of the Orphans' Court for an order of Confirmation for the house and lot.....	2	2	0
To cash paid for advice....	0	15	0
To cash for drawing this acct.	0	15	0
To cash for passing this acct.	0	15	0
	66	7	2

Affirmed before me the same day and year,

EDWARD SHIPPEN,
Register.

Per me, Jacob Schnuerer.

A few remarks about the administrator and purchaser may not be out of place.

Jacob Schnuerer wás born in Carlsruhe, Germany, April 10, 1713. On September 16, 1737, he, then residing at Eckutein,obtained his passports and came to America to seek his fortune, locating in Cocalico township, near Schoeneck, where he came into possession of some land and became a progressive farmer.

On February 10, 1741, he was united in marriage with Katrina Kormanin (Korman).

He was also prominently connected with the Warwick Church, being one of the original signers at its re-organization. His naturalization papers were granted April 10, 1762. He died in 1790.

Peter Elser was a native of Russheim, Germany. Near the close of the year 1749 he, in company with his mother, and three sisters, together with others, emigrated to this country, locating in Warwick, now Clay, town-

ship, near the village of Clay, where he, in early life, came into possession of some land and became a thrifty farmer. Besides the farm, he also operated a hemp rolling mill and a saw mill. The latter is still standing and in running order, and is known as "Elser's Saw Mill."

The farm is at present owned by Joseph Barnett, of Lancaster city.

Mr. Elser was married on November 16, 1760, to Anna Margretta, daughter of Johann Casper Stoever, the pioneer Lutheran minister. He died in 1786, leaving four sons and two daughters.

EARLY LANCASTER THEATRE.

The Hon. W. U. Hensel a short time ago called my attention to an incident related by the eminent actor, James E. Murdoch, in the interesting volume of memoirs written by him, in which he relates some of the more striking events of his theatrical career. As the scene of the occurrence is laid in Lancaster nearly three-quarters of a century ago, it is presented here as a proper supplement to the articles on "Early Lancaster Playbills and Playhouses," published in our proceedings for November, 1902.

When I first read the story as told by Mr. Murdoch, I confess I was somewhat sceptical as to the truth of it. While I did not venture to think it altogether fictitious, I, nevertheless, believed Mr. Murdoch had given play to his imagination and padded a trifling incident to such an extent as to render it almost incredible, although at the same time attractive and readable.

Turning, however, to the article on our early theatres already referred to, I find that, in part, at least, the story told by Mr. Murdoch is entirely correct—that part relating to the construction of the theatre and his playing Romeo in it, with Miss Riddle as Juliet. The theatre in question was built in 1833 by John Landis, of Lancaster Museum fame. It was erected on the first square of West Chestnut street, south side, on the spot where Kieffer's old foundry used to stand. Prior to the foundry, however, the ground was occupied by a large brick barn, owned by the Reigart estate.

The late Alfred Sanderson, as quoted by Mr. S. M. Sener, in his notes on our early theatres, some years ago wrote an article on the "Theatres of Lancaster," in which he stated that he had witnessed early performances in the Landis Theatre, on Chestnut street, near Prince, the first building in Lancaster actually devoted to theatrical performances exclusively. The big barn—Murdoch says it was of stone, while Sanderson says it was brick—"was purchased for the purpose and enlarged by the addition of a frame structure for the stage. The internal arrangement, consisting of a gallery, pit and scenery, was considered to be an imposing affair." Mr. Sanderson stated that one of the scenes which impressed him most was a representation of North Queen street from the Franklin House to the old Court House, in the Square. He had seen James E. Murdoch and Miss Riddle perform there in "Romeo and Juliet," and also Thomas Apthorp Cooper in "Othello."

It will be seen, therefore, that at least one portion of Mr. Murdoch's lively narrative is fully confirmed, and, considering all the circumstances, it is not unlikely that the portion relating to "Crummie" and her horns may be correct, also. There appears, however, to be some confusion in the matter of dates. Alfred Sanderson was born in 1836. If the Landis theatre was built in 1833, he could not have seen the conversion of the old barn into a theatre. The date, in all probability, should be 1843, when Mr. Sanderson was a lad of seven years. The entire story forms an interesting episode in the early history of Lancaster county theatres.

Actor Murdoch's Story.

"While yet a mere youth I was acting in the old city of Lancaster, Pa., during the vacation of the regular theatrical season, with a portion of the company attached to the Arch Street Theatre, Philadelphia. Miss Eliza Riddle, one of the most beautiful and accomplished actresses of the American stage, and a great favorite in Philadelphia, was the leading lady of the 'star combination,' as it is generally termed in provincial towns.

"Miss Riddle was afterward a popular star actress in the principal theatres of the South and West. She became the wife of Mr. Joseph M. Field, the eccentric comedian, and the witty editor of one of the popular papers of St. Louis. Their only child is our talented young countrywoman, Miss Kate Field.

"That my readers may realize the situation of affairs in connection with the incident to be related, I will state that the building in which we were acting was originally a barn, and had been fitted up, as the playbills say, 'regardless of expense,' to answer the purposes of a theatre. The rear stone wall, which formed the back part of the stage, still retained the large double folding doors of the barn, while the yard at the rear, with its sheds, was used for the accommodation of the proprietor's cows. The double doors were made available for scenic purposes when shut, having a rude landscape scene painted on the boards, and when they were open they afforded the means of increasing the size of the stage, which was done by laying down a temporary floor on the outside directly opposite the opening, a wooden framework, covered with painted canvas, forming the

sides, back, top of the extension. The play was Romeo and Juliet, Miss Riddle performing the part of Juliet and I that of Romeo.

"The extra staging described had been set up in the barnyard and enclosed by the canvas walls, and thus room was obtained for the 'Tomb of the Capulets.' The front part of the tomb was formed of a set piece, so called, painted to represent the marble of the sepulchre, in which were hung the doors forming its entrance, and at the top was painted in large letters 'The Tomb of the Capulets.' Within the tomb, and against the canvas which formed the rear wall, was a small wooden platform, on which was placed a compact mass of hay, shaped like a pallet and nicely covered with black muslin, and on this hay-stuffed couch was to rest the body of the dead or drug-surfeited Lady Juliet.

"In view of the gloomy surroundings of the tomb, and particularly of its close proximity to the barnyard, it would not be considered, under any circumstances, a pleasant resting place for a young lad", especially of an imaginative turn of mind. Before the rising of the curtain on the fifth act, however, I had carefully inspected the premises and looked after the proper disposal of Juliet in the tomb, so that when the doors were to be thrown open in sight of the audience there might be no obstacle to the full view of the sepulchred heroine.

"Everything was pronounced in a state of readiness, and receiving from Miss Riddle an earnest request to hurry on the scene which precedes the catastrophe of the tragedy, I left her, her last words being, 'Oh, do hurry, Mr. Murdoch! I'm so dreadfully afraid of rats!'

"The curtain rose. Romeo received the news of the death of his Juliet, in despair provided the fatal poison, and rushed to the graveyard. Here he met and despatched his rival, the county Paris, burst open the doors of the tomb, and there, in the dim, mysterious light, lay Juliet. The frantic lover rushed to her side, exclaiming:

"Oh, my love! my wife!
Death, that hath sucked the honey of thy breath,
Hath had no power yet upon thy beauty:
Thou art not conquered; beauty's ensign yet
Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
And death's pale flag is not advanced there.

* * * * * *

"Ah, dear Juliet,
Why art thou yet so fair?"

"Here,observing strange twitchings in the face and hands of the lady, I stooped during my last line to ask her in a stage whisper what was the matter, to which she sobbingly replied: 'Oh, take me out of this; oh, take me out of this, or I shall die!'

"Feeling assured of the necessity of the case, and wishing to bring the scene to a close, I seized upon the poison and exclaimed·

"Come, bitter conduct, come unsavory guide!
Thou desperate pilot, now at once run on
The dashing rocks, thy seasick, weary bark!"

Smothered sobbings and repressed mutterings of 'Oh, Mr. Murdoch, take me out! you must take me out!' came from the couch. Now fully alarmed, I swallowed the poison, exclaiming:

"Here's to my love!"

Then, throwing away the vial and with my back to the tomb, I struck an attitude, as usual, and waited for

the expected applause, when I was startled by a piercing shriek, and, turning, I beheld my lady-love sitting up wringing her hands and fearfully alive. I rushed forward, seized her and bore her to the footlights, and was received with shouts of applause. No one had noticed the by-play of the tomb, nor did the dying scene lose any of its effects, for Juliet was excited and hysterical and Romeo in a state of frantic bewilderment. The curtain fell amid every manifestation of delight on the part of the audience.

"And now for the scene behind the curtain. All the dead-alive Juliet could gasp out was: 'Oh, oh, the bed! the bed! Oh, oh, the rats! the rats!' I ran up the stage, tore open the pallet, and there—oh horrors!—sticking through the canvas walls of the tomb were the head and horns of a cow. Though the intruder had smelt no rats, she had in some mysterious way scented the fodder, and after pushing her nose through an unfortunate rent in the canvas proceeded to make her supper off the hay which formed the couch of the terrified Juliet."

EXTRACT FROM AN OLD WILL.

As showing the minuteness with which even the will of the average farmer-citizen was drawn up and his goods disposed of a hundred years ago, and also how the surviving wife was taken care of in the adjustment of estates, the following example is offered. Mr. Hartman, the testator, was a well-to-do farmer, owning two large farms, besides much gear of other kinds. His liberal treatment of his surviving wife was no doubt a tribute to her assistance in the accumulation of his estate.

F. R. D.

The Will.

"In the Name of God Amen. I, Henry Hartman, of Lampeter Township, in the County of Lancaster and State of Pennsylvania, Yeoman, being of Sound mind and understanding, but considering the uncertainty of this life, do make, publish & declare this my last Will & Testament in the manner and form following, hereby revoking and renouncing all former and other Wills by me heretofore made.

"Imprimis: I direct that all my just debts and funeral expenses may be paid out of my estate by my executor hereinafter mentioned.

"Item. I give and bequeath unto my beloved Wife, Ann, in Lieu and in full satisfaction of her Dower, Two hundred Pounds, in Specie, to be paid unto her in Six Weeks after my decease, her choice of one Horse, Saddle and bridle & one cow, her choice of Feather Beds & Bedsteads, one cor-

ner cupboard with glass doors, together with all the China and queensware, Silver Table and tea Spoons, Glass, &c., in the same, except the Glass Bottles, one chest of Drawers, one Chest of her choice of Two Tables, one Arm Chair, Six chairs, two Spinning Wheels, one wool wheel and check reel, the third part of all my pewter and earthenware, two cedar Tubs, one tin bucket, as many of my books as she may choose, Twenty Yard of Flax Linen, ten yards of Lindsy, fifteen pounds Heckeled Flax, one Small Walnut Chest With 2 drawers, one copper wash Kettle, one Tea Kettle & Tea Pot, Six Table Cloths, Six Towls, One Tin plate Stove, with the pipe, 1 pair fire Shovel & Tongs, the third of my bottles, bowls and glasses, one Kitchen dresser, and I do further bequeath unto her while she remains my widow the privilege and entire use of two rooms on the North Side of my dwelling House and the Sole and entire use of one Room in the Same house up stairs in second story such as she may choose. I do also direct she shall have as much room in the Kitchen and cellar and Springhouse as she may require for her own use, together with the one-fourth part of my Garden, and the fourth part of all the currants & as many apples and other fruit as she may choose for her own use. And I do order and direct that my son Henry shall feed and take care of her Horse and Cow, in the same manner as his own, and he shall supply her with as much fire wood as she may want, and cut in small for the stove and bring it into her rooms whenever she may require it; he shall pay unto her Yearly and Year on the first day of April the sum of eight dollars in Gold or Silver, he shall give her Ten Bushels of Wheat & Six bush-

els of Buckwheat and three bushels of Potatoes, a fat hog of one hundred weight, third part of the Fowls and Eggs, two barrels of Cider, half a bushel of fine Salt, three pounds of Wool, fifteen pounds of heckeled flax, with the tow of the same, six pounds of hog lard; and he shall haul all her grain to the Mill and Shall haul the flour of the same to the house.

"All of which Same things give unto her Yearly and every year during her widowhood as aforesaid. And I hereby further order & direct that my son Christian Hartman shall give unto my Wife Ann Yearly and every year Ten bushels Wheat, Six Bushels Rye, four bushels Indian Corn, Forty pounds fat beef, half a bushel coarse salt, fiifteen pound reckeled flax, with the tow of the same, three pounds of wool, six pounds rendered tallow and on the first day April Yearly and every year eight dollars in gold or silver."

MINUTES OF APRIL MEETING.

Lancaster, Pa., April 6, 1906.

The regular monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held to-night (Friday), in the Society's room, in the Young Men's Christian Association building, with President Steinman in the chair.

The Society was duly called to order and the roll of officers called. As there was a long programme ahead, the reading of the minutes was, on motion, dispensed with.

The following persons were elected to membership: Prof. A. V. Hiester and Mrs. A. V. Hurst, both of Lancaster city. The applications of the following persons were presented: William M. Mervine, of Edgewater Park, New Jersey; George R. Seifert, of Philadelphia, and Rev. Henry G. Ganss, of Carlisle.

The donations were both numerous and valuable. Vice President Evans gave the Society twenty-eight bound volumes, a bound volume of the Columbia Spy for 1868-9, vol. 1 of the Historical Journal, thirty-two pamphlets of value and a large number of magazines. Dr. John W. Jordan, of the State Historical Society, presented to the Society a considerable number of the publications of the State Historical Society, completing the first ten or twelve volumes of the Magazine of History and Biography donated by Mr. Evans. Mrs. M. N. Robinson presented a copy of the journal of the Diocese of Harrisburg, and exchanges were received from the German American Annals, New York Public Library,

Inter-State Commerce Commission, Pennsylvania State Library, New York State Library and from Mr. H. A. Rogers, of this city. The Society also acquired, by purchase, a wall map of Lancaster county and Rupp's History of Berks and Lebanon counties.

The thanks of the Society were returned to all the above donors for their generous gifts.

The first paper of the evening was prepared by F. R. Diffenderffer and read by S. M. Sener, Esq., on Washington's three visits to Lancaster, and it was accompanied by the original manuscript of a song written and sung by John Moore, Esq., of the Lancaster Bar, in 1794, and gave in detail the ceremonies that accompanied Washington's visit to this city in 1794, as well as those of 1795 and 1796. Miss Martha B. Clark read some interesting papers on the history of the Schneerer family, in the northeastern part of the county, prepared by Mr. F. E. Schneerer.

Another articie, also prepared by the Secretary, on the first visit of Actor J. E. Murdoch, to Lancaster, was also read by S. M. Sener, Esq. It related a comical occurrence during the performance of "Romeo and Juliet," and created no little amusement. An extract from the will of Mr. Henry Hartman, who died in 1809, was read by the Secretary. It gave in great detail the bequests to his wife, and was a fine example of the custom prevalent one hundred years ago of making family bequests.

Under the head of unfinished business, the new Constitution and By-Laws presented by the Executive Committee at the March meeting were called up,and were fully discussed. A considerable number of corrections and additions were made.

On motion of Miss Clark, who resigned as a delegate to the Franklin celebration to be held by the Philosophical Society, S. M. Sener was chosen to fill the vacancy.

There being no further business, the Society then adjourned.

The Society is attracting more and more attention from the public. As its purposes and work become better known persons who have not heretofore been visitors attend its meetings. The wonder really is that its membership is not much greater than it is.

COMMODORE JOHN BARRY.[1]

In the War of the Revolution some men made reputations over night. Like the fabled goddess who sprang full-fledged from the foam of the sea, they leaped into prominence by a single act. Others did yeoman service throughout that memorable campaign, but lacked the trumpeter to sound their praises, and were quite content to play their brave parts, rewarded by the consciousness of work well done, and little recking of the verdict of posterity. True worth is always modest and self-effacing. Therefore is it that the chronicler finds his task a pleasing one to piece together the fragments of one of these noble and unassuming lives into a mosaic worthy to hold an honored place in a picture of the period.

Of this type of modest heroes was the subject of this sketch, John Barry, born in Ballysampson, County Wexford, Ireland, in 1745. His family name, de Barry, suggestive of Norman origin, is found in Wexford as early as the fourteenth century. Brought up with the salt sea air in his nostrils, it is easy to understand how, as a lad of fifteen years, he found a place with his uncle, master of a vessel trading out of Wexford. His sea journeys brought him often to Philadelphia, and he is found in his early years in the employ of the merchant princes of their time, the Willings, the Merediths and Cadwalladers, sailing on their vessels in varied capacities.

[1] Paper read before Donegal Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, by Richard M. Reilly, Esq., on April 11, 1906.

The first record of him as a sea captain occurs on October 2, 1766, when he became at twenty-one master of a vessel that traded with the Barbadoes Islands. His life on the ocean wave was probably uneventful for the next eight years or more, but when he arrived in Philadelphia, on October 13, 1775, in command of the Black Prince, much history had been made since his departure the year before. "The embattled farmers of Lexington" had "fired the shot heard 'round the world." Ticonderoga had fallen, Bunker Hill had been fought, and Washington had assumed the command of the Continental Army under the shade of the stately elm in Cambridge.

Barry's arrival in Philadelphia was opportune, the Continental Congress having authorized the purchase and fitting out of two armed cruisers with authority to capture vessels bringing supplies to the British Army. Captain Barry was appointed to the command of one of them, the Lexington, named after the place of the first land battle. His commission was the first issued by the Marine Committee of Congress, and attests the high reputation that he enjoyed for courage, skill and experience. Much is contained in the simple record that he was the first officer appointed to the first vessel purchased, named after the place of the first battle. He was soon to add again to his record of initiative by reporting to the Marine Committee of Congress the first capture of a British vessel. This was on April 7, 1776, when off the Capes of Virginia, the Lexington, after a fierce engagement, caused the Edward to strike its colors. Philadelphia acclaimed the Irish sea-dog when he brought his prize up the bay four days later. John Adams wrote of it:

"We begin to make some figure here in the navy way." And Richard Henry Lee, in a letter describing the event,narrated that the enemy did not submit until he was near sinking. Barry's report of the victory is embraced in a few lines giving the bare details, and concluding, "I have the happiness to acquaint you that all our people behaved with much courage."

In the lower Delaware, Barry hovered with his good ship, lending his aid to protect the merchantmen arriving with supplies on Congress account from the assaults of the British men of war. When this work was scarce, he kept himself and crew from stagnating by sallying out to the capture of ocean prizes. In August, 1776, the Lady Susan and the Betsy, manned by the loyalist Goodriches, of Virginia, fell into his hands, and the proceedings of their condemnation as prizes may be read in the records of Congress of November 7, 1776. We next find our hero in command of the Effingnam, one of the new vessels authorized by Congress. On the day that Captain Barry received his assignment, October 10, 1776, the rank of the officers of the new Continental Navy was fixed, Barry ranking seventh. Captain John Paul Jones was eighteenth on the list, to his extreme chagrin. But Barry and Jones were real sea-fighters, and they were soon to show by their careers of successful daring how impotent is a Congress committee to keep down men of native force and genius.

And now we come to a picturesque event in Barry's career. It is the winter month of December, 1776, when Washington, having been forced out of New York, is making his weary retreat across New Jersey, seeking to

put the Delaware between himself and the British foe. Saddened by the treachery of Lee, who should have co-operated with him, indignant at the Jerseymen, who, instead of flying to his standard, were going over to the Crown, his soldiers, ragged and forlorn—at no time during the war was the situation so desperate for the American cause. The world still wonders at the masterly way in which Washington retrieved the situation, crossing the Delaware on Christmas night amid the floating ice with his little force of 2.500 men, stealing around the enemy's outposts, and in quick succession winning the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Thus was safety plucked from the nettle danger in the most critical stage of the conflict. The English historian, Trevelyan, says of it: "It may be doubted whether so small a number of men ever employed so short a space of time with greater or more lasting results upon the history of the world." In this momentous struggle, Captain Barry bore a noble part. Though a sailor and a commissioned Captain, he organized a company of volunteers and aided in the transport of the troops across the icy waters, and was in the thick of the strife at Trenton and Princeton. Thus ably did he sustain the Father of His Country in his and its greatest trial.

We next find Barry after the Trenton campaign engaged in protecting Philadelphia by defensive naval operations. When in September, 1777, the British army entered Philadelphia and Congress fled to Lancaster, Barry, in his vessel, the Effingham, went down the Delaware to take charge of the business of preventing British vessels from coming up the river. Fierce river fighting followed for the

next two months, until the position growing untenable, the American fleet, under cover of night, passed up the river in front of the city, losing several of their vessels in the venture. To Barry, who was now in the upper Delaware, is given the credit of projecting the plan for destroying the enemy's vessels in the river by floating down machines resembling ship's buoys filled with powder. It failed of its purpose, but the consternation of the British and the fierce cannonading to which the powder kegs were exposed gave rise to the humorous ditty, "The Battle of the Kegs." There was a good laugh at the British expense, as will be seen by a sample verse from the satirical story:

"From morn to night these men of might
Display'd amazing courage;
And when the sun was fairly down,
Retired to eat their porridge."

Barry's restless spirit ill brooked the inaction to which he was condemned in the Upper Delaware, and he is found in the early part of 1778 inducing the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, then in Lancaster, to aid the Continental navy in harassing or destroying the British supply vessels coming up the Lower Delaware. On a night in February, he came down with twenty-seven men, in four row boats, passed Philadelphia unobserved, and captured the British ten-gun ship, the Alert, with two supply ships, the Mermaid and the Kitty. The dauntless Barry, with only a few more than a score of followers, leaped over the rail of the Alert, cutlass in hand, and succeeded in capturing the entire crew of 116 men. The fame of this exploit, together with the masterly style in which, against great

By courtesy of
THE NORTH AMERICAN

John Barry

odds he avoided the re-capture of the Alert by a British sloop of war, added new laurels to the intrepid sea captain. It is said that as a result of it, Sir William Howe, then Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, offered Barry 20,000 guineas and the command of a British frigate, if he would go over to the English service. Barry's reply was brief and patriotic: "Not the value and command of the whole British fleet can seduce me from the cause of my country." Washington, at Valley Forge, was a close observer of Barry's work at this time, as he received much forage and supplies from him for his army. Under date of March 12, 1778, he thus writes our hero: "I.....congratulate you on the success which has crowned your gallantry and address in the late attack upon the enemy's ships. Although circumstances have prevented you from reaping the full benefit of your conquests, yet there is ample consolation in the degree of glory which you have acquired."

Barry's next adventure, while not successful, showed him a genuine specimen of the fighting race. He had been appointed to the command of the Raleigh, of 32 guns, in September, 1778, and within a few hours after sailing was in a fierce fight with two English ships, one being of 64 guns. The conflict kept up until midnight, and Barry was compelled to set fire to his ship, himself and the greater part of his crew escaping to an island of the Penobscot. It was a brave fight against heavy odds, and the Marine Committee of Congress publicly complimented him for his "great gallantry."

We next see him directed by Congress to take command of an expedi-

tion against East Florida, where disaffection had been spreading. But the sailing of Sir Henry Clinton's fleet southward from New York, with reinforcements, caused a change in the plans, and the proposed expedition was abandoned. For the greater part of the year 1779 he commanded the letter of marque brig, the Delaware, capturing a man-of-war and several merchantmen. The treaty of alliance with France in February, 1778, gave its name to Barry's next command, the Alliance, which was the largest and best of the vessels of the Continental navy. We are tempted to smile just a little at this eulogy of her by Philip Freneau, the poet of the Revolution:

"See how she mounts the foaming wave,
Where other ships would find a grave;
Majestic, awful and serene,
She walks the ocean like its queen.

Barry's command of the Alliance continued until the close of the war, and he was devotedly attached to her. She enjoyed the unusual distinction of being the only frigate to escape capture or destruction, was in many important engagements, always coming off victorious, and was the fastest sailer in the navy. She bore across the seas Col. John Laurens, when he went to France for funds to move the French army from Rhode Island to Yorktown. On this voyage Barry gave our British cousins a lesson in international law, when, in the capture of a privateer of the enemy, he at once released a Venetian ship taken by the privateer. He held the capture to be contrary to the law of nations, which respects the property of neutrals. For this he was thanked by a resolution of Congress. Franklin wrote of it in a

letter from Paris on November 5th, 1781, to the President of Congress: "The Ambassador of Venice told me that he was charged by the Senate to express to me their grateful sense of the friendly behavior of Captain Barry, commander of the Alliance, in rescuing one of the ships of their State from an English privateer and setting her at liberty."

The next brilliant performance of our hero was the capture, in April, 1781, of two English brigs, the Mars and Minerva, after subduing a mutiny on his vessel that seriously impaired his fighting force. A month later he fought and captured the armed ship, the Atalanta,and the brig Trepassy, in a memorable engagement. Barry was wounded in the shoulder by a grape shot, and from loss of blood was compelled to go below. The colors of the Alliance had been shot away, the rigging was badly cut and the ship was greatly damaged. The first officer, feeling that all was lost, went to Barry to ask leave to surrender. Barry's answer was a defiant "No" and an order to be brought on deck, where he soon had the happy satisfaction of seeing the enemy lower their colors. Frost's "Naval Biography" says of this engagement: "It was considered a most brilliant exploit and an unequivocal evidence of the unconquerable firmness and intrepidity of the victor." It induced William Collins to ride his Pegasus in this martial fashion:

"In the brave old ship. 'Alliance,'
  We sailed from sea to sea;
Our proud flag in defiance
  Still floating fair and free;
We met the foe and beat him,
  As we often did before;
And ne'er afraid to meet him
  Was our brave old Commodore."

In 1781 the entire navy of the United States consisted of the Alliance and the Deane, and Barry was placed in command of this squadron of two by Robert Morris, Supervisor of Finances, the Admiralty and Naval Boards having been abolished. It will be thus seen that from seventh in rank he had arrived at the top of the list. He was chosen for the important work of transporting Lafayette to France after the battle of Yorktown, a mission to which Washington attached the highest importance, and out of which came influences that hastened the ending of the war. A warm friendship was established between Barry and Lafayette, as may be seen by Barry's letter to the great Frenchmen on November 17, 1782, wherein he writes: "You say you are going to America. I envy the Captain who is to take you. I wish I was in his place, but, although I am deprived of that happiness at present, I hope to have the pleasure to command the ship that conveys you to your native country."

Peace between the United States and England was agreed upon on February 3, 1783, while Barry was at sea on the Alliance. He had sailed from Havana on March 7, accompanied by the Continental ship Luzerne, the two vessels having on board about $200,000 of specie for Congress. Three days later they fell in with three British frigates, two of which Barry engaged and beat off. One of these was the Sybille, which was silenced after the Alliance lost eleven men. This was the last naval battle of the war, and it was fitting that it should be fought by the nation's greatest sea warrior. Of this battle, a good story is extant, which, however, has no authority to support it. It was said that Barry, when hailed on this occasion by the

enemy, answered: "The United States ship Alliance, saucy Jack Barry—half Irishman, half Yankee—who are you?" From what we know of Barry's modesty, the note of bombast in this greeting is somewhat jarring. But perhaps it is not well to examine historical yarns of this type too closely.

When the war was ended, Barry joined the merchant service, and he does not again become a national figure until on March 19, 1794, we find him offering his services to President Washington to command the squadron against the Algerines, those Corsairs of the African coast having caused much havoc to the commerce of the United States. From this grew the present American Navy. The records of the War Department of June 5, 1794, show that Washington appointed Barry as the ranking commander of the new naval armament ordered to be built by Congress. The commission was signed by Washington on his birthday, on February 22, 1797, and is marked "No. One." The appointment was well received in the country. Cooper's History of the Navy says: "Captain Barry was the only one of the six surviving Captains of the Revolutionary War who was not born in America, but he had passed nearly all his life in it, and was thoroughly identified with his adopted countrymen in interest and feeling. He had often distinguished himself during the Revolution, and, perhaps, of all the naval captains that remained, he was the one who possessed a greater reputation for experience, conduct and skill. His appointment met with general approbation, nor did anything ever occur to give the government reason to regret its selection."

Barry's first task at the head of the

young navy was the superintending of the building of the frigate, the United States, the first vessel of the present navy, which was launched in Philadelphia on May 10, 1797, amid great popular rejoicing Miss Eleanor Donnelly's spirited poem, commemorative of the occasion, thus begins:

"A May-day sun—a noon-day tide—
And a warm west w'nd for the ladies fair!
A hundred craft at anchor ride,
Their bright flags gemming the Delaware.

"Ten thousand freemen crowd the quay,
The housetops other thousands hold;
All Philadelphia throngs to see
The launch of Barry's frigate bold.

"The gallant ship, United States,
First of our navy's valiant fleet—
A nation's fame on her future waits,
A nation's hopes in her present meet."

Two noted American seamen began their careers with Barry on the United States: Stephen Decatur, who was to become famous in the War with Tripoli and with Great Britain, and Charles Stewart, the grandfather of Charles Stewart Parnell. Service under Barry was eagerly sought, as, while a strict disciplinarian, he was eminently just and considerate. It was Barry who, in a letter of January 8, 1798, suggested the creation of a navy department, and also that navy yards should be located for ships and supplies. The organization of the navy into a separate department followed three months later. In the difficulties that arose with France, and in command of the American fleet in the West Indies, he served with distinction. When peace came in 1801, Barry was retained in the service. The

remainder of his life-story may be briefly summed up. His health, broken by his many arduous campaigns, began to fail, and at his country seat, at Strawberry Hill, near Philadelphia, he gently drifted into the valley of the shadow. He died on September 13, 1803. In its notice of his death, the Pennsylvania Gazette thus feelingly refers to his life and services: "His naval achievements would of themselves have reflected much honor on his memory, but those could not have endeared it to his fellow-citizens had he wanted those gentle and amiable virtues which embellish the gentlemen and ennoble the soldier." He had been twice married, but, like Washington, was childless. It has been beautifully said of Washington that under the Divine plan he was to be childless that a nation might call him Father. May not in a lesser degree the same sentiment hold good for the Father of the American Navy?

The record of this remarkable man will not be found in the recognized histories of the Revolutionary period. The friend of Washington and Lafayette, who was twice thanked by Congress, who was in command of the Continental sea forces when Cornwallis surrendered, who suggested the creation of the Navy Department and held its first commission, seems to have been strangely ignored. Vainly is Bancroft and McMaster searched for some light on his career. The newer histories of Higginson, Wilson and Garner and Lodge make no allusion to him. Larned's History for Ready Reference omits him. Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America" simply alludes to Barry's loss of the Raleigh without comment. It remained for Martin I. J. Griffin, of Philadelphia, a painstaking and faith-

ful historian, to dig into the records of a century or more ago and bring to light the salient facts in the life of this great sea captain. From his book, "Commodore John Barry," printed by subscription a few years ago, were obtained the data for this paper. The book is a valuable contribution to the history of the country, which has so long permitted one of its truest heroes to remain in comparative obscurity. An instalment of justice was obtained four years ago, when the torpedo boat destroyer "Barry" was launched, and the wrong of a century will be partially righted if Congress passes the bill now pending in the House appropriating $25,000 to erect in Washington a monument inscribed: "John Barry, the Father of the American Navy."

He sleeps the dreamless sleep of the dead in old St. Mary's Cemetery, on Fourth street, above Spruce street, Philadelphia, near to the lordly waters of the Delaware that had borne him so often to and from the sea. Until 1876 no marble shaft reared its height to heaven to recall his life and services, but in that Centennial year the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America placed his statue on their fountain in Fairmount Park, at the foot of George's Hill. That same year his grave in St. Mary's Cemetery was marked by his friends and fellow churchmen with a tomb, the inscription on which was composed in part by his friend, Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. This brief sketch of the life of a great and good man may fitly end with an extract from the message on the sculptured marble:

Sacred to the memory of

COMMODORE JOHN BARRY,

Father of the American Navy.
Let the Christian, Patriot and Soldier
who visits these mansions of the
dead view this monument with
respect and veneration.
Beneath it rest the remains of JOHN
BARRY, who was born in County
Wexford, Ireland, in the year 1745.
America was the object of his patriot-
ism and the aim of his useful-
ness and ambition.
At the beginning of the Revolutionary
War he held the commission of
Captain in the then limited
Navy of the Colonies.
His achievements in battle and his
renowned naval tactics merited for
him the position of Commodore, and
to be justly regarded as the father
of the American navy.
He fought often and bled in the cause
of freedom, but his deeds of valor
did not diminish in him the vir-
tues which adorn his private life.
He was eminently gentle, kind, just
and charitable, and no less beloved
by his family and friends than
by his grateful country."

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MAY 4, 1906.

AN EARLY ROAD PETITION.

GOVERNOR WOOD, OF VIRGINIA.

A THOMAS BARTON LETTER.

A BUCHANAN MYTH.

MINUTES OF THE APRIL MEETING.

VOL. X. NO. 5.

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An Early Road Petition, - - - - - - - - 145
By F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D.

Governor Wood, of Virginia, - - - - - - - 157
By George Steinman.

A Thomas Barton Letter, - - - - - - - - 162
By Miss Martha B. Clark.

A Buchanan Myth, - - - - - - - - - 169
By Hon. W. U. Hensel.

Minutes of the May Meeting. - - - - - - 173

AN EARLY ROAD PETITION.

It is hardly necessary for me to say to this audience that the earliest roads used by the first settlers in this country were probably the paths traversed by the Indians in going to and fro over the country, and that when real wagon roads were "laid out," as it was called, they were also upon these footpaths. Having no beasts of burden and being compelled to make their journeys on foot, it was but natural that they should select the shortest way between any two points, and also where the travel was accompanied by the least fatigue, that is, avoiding the hills and rough places that may have intervened. Wherever possible that course was no doubt followed.

In the course of time, however, as settlements were formed in various localities and mills were built here and there, that course was no longer possible, and we consequently find that all, or nearly all, the petitions for the laying out of roads in the Road Docket of the Court of Quarter Sessions between 1740 and 1775 ask for these conveniences to enable the people to more easily reach "mill and market." But horses were not numerous in these early days, and mere bridle paths were sufficient for a long time, and grain and grist was in most cases carried to and from the mills and to market on horseback. Prior to 1720, and considerably later in some localities, farmers from three to six at a time were accustomed to carry

their grain to the mills on the Brandywine and bring back the meal. But with the more general introduction of beasts of burden, horses and oxen, came also the large farm wagons and other wheeled conveyances. These required something better than bridle paths. Traffic between the settlements and throughout the country and with the county metropolis was increasing rapidly and the era of better highways came along. At almost every session of the Quarter Sessions Court petitions for roads were presented. From 1729 until 1775 fully one hundred and fifty of these petitions were acted upon.

The King's Highway.

At the Board of Councils held at Philadelphia on January 29, 1730, a petition was presented by "the magistrates, grand jury and other inhabitants of Lancaster county, setting forth that not having the conveniences of any navigable water for bringing the produce of their labors to Philadelphia, they were obliged, at a great expense, to transport them by land carriage, which became heavier through the want of suitable roads for carriages to pass. That there are no public roads leading to Philadelphia yet laid out through their county, and those in Chester county through which they now pass, are in many places incommodious. And therefore praying that proper persons may be appointed to view and lay out a road for public service, from the town of Lancaster, till it falls in with the hign road in the county of Chester, leading to the ferry of Schuylkill, at High street, and that a review may be had of the said public road in the county of Chester; the prayer of which petition being granted:

"It is ordered that Thomas Edwards, Edward Smout, Robert Barber, Hans Graaf, Caleb Pierce, Samuel Jones and Andrew Cornish, of the county of Lancaster, or any five of them, view and lay out by course and distance, a convenient nigh road from the said town of Lancaster; and that Thomas Green, George Aston, William Paschal, Richard Buffington, William March, Samuel Miller and Robert Parke, of the County of Chester, or any five of them, in continuing to lay out as aforesaid, the said road from the division line aforesaid until it falls in with the King's high road in the county of Chester, leading to Philadelphia, and make return thereof to this board. And they, the above named persons in the county of Lancaster, or any five of them, together with the above named persons in the county of Chester, or any five of them, are further empowered jointly to review the said road within the last mentioned county, and to report to this board what alterations may be necessary to be made therein, and suit the convenience of carriages, and for the better accommodation of the inhabitants of this province."

The persons named in the preceding order of the board went to work at the task assigned to them, and on October 4, 1733, reported that they had attended to the same. Their report was approved and confirmed, and then "The courts ordered, the Governor and council having certified the same, that the respective supervisors open and clear the King's road leading from Lancaster to Philadelphia; to clear the same on the north side of the marked trees, at least thirty feet wide, and grub the underwood at least fifteen feet of the said space on the north side of the marked trees,

and make necessary bridges over swamps so as to render the same safe and passable for horse and wagon."

That was the first of the important highways laid out in this county. Others of hardly less importance to the inhabitants quickly followed. As early as November, 1730, we find that "a petition was presented to the Court by divers citizens, setting forth the need of a highway through Hempfield township, from the first unsurveyed land near Susquehannah, to Christian Stoneman, his mill, and from the said mill to Daniel Cookson's at the head of the Pequea." The road from Conestoga to Paxtang was also laid out in 1731 or 1732.

The Lancaster and Philadelphia Turnpike.

From that time onward the multiplication of roads all over this county proceeded rapidly. The rapid settlement of the county rendered this a necessity. But it must not be forgotten that all these roads were what is now called dirt roads, as distinguished from State or Macadam ones, which came along later. The first turnpike in the county and the first one in the United States was what has always been known as the "Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike." That road was built by a company that was chartered by the General Assembly of the State on April 9, 1792. It was not a State road, as many believe, but was the result of private enterprise, ten persons being the incorporators, of whom five were from Lancaster county; the latter were General Edward Hand, Matthias Slaugh, John Hubley, Paul Zantzinger and Abraham Witmer. The original capital authorized was $300,000, but that was found insufficient, the road having cost when

finished $465,000, or $7,500 per mile. This road has been the subject of three papers read before our Society, and therefore requires no further mention here. I have mentioned it only now as marking the commencement of the era of turnpike building in this county, and the country at large.

A New Highway Called For.

The foregoing brief account of the early road making has been prepared as introductory to an attempt made by the people of this city and county in 1770 to have a new King's highway built between Lancaster and Philadelphia, by a shorter and better route than the then existing one, which, owing to its having been badly located in the first place and not having been kept in good repair, had, according to the petitioners, become almost impassable. During a business visit to the archives department of the State Library at Harrisburg a few weeks ago, my attention was called by Mr. Luther R. Kelker, the archivist, to a document of prodigious size, which had lately been found and renovated. The original was almost four feet long and two feet wide. During the 136 years it had lain in the archives and from the rough treatment it had no doubt met, having been stowed away in all manner of recesses and corners, it was worn through along its many creases and seemed in the last stages of dilapidation. But under the careful processes which all the old manuscripts are now undergoing under the authority of the Archives Commission, of which Mr. Kelker is the director in charge, and owing to the deft manipulation of some of the female help employed in this work, the ancient document has taken on a

new lease of life and looks respectable in spite of the many mendings it has received.

This document, upon examination, I find, as already stated, to be a petition signed by 155 prominent citizens of Lancaster city and county for a public highway eastward from Lancaster. It was wholly new to me, and no reference is made to it by the writers of any of our local histories, it having evidently been unknown to all of them. I thought it of sufficient interest to have a copy made of it for presentation to our Society, which was done by Mr. Kelker, he having refused all compensation for the work. About one-third of the names to the petition were written in German, and these were also Englished that they might be intelligible to every reader.

The petition states that it was laid before the Governor and Council on September 10, 1770. I have carefully examined the colonial records, the first series of archives and the messages of the then Governor, John Penn, without finding even a trace of the petition. Was it favorably or unfavorably acted upon? I do not know. It must be kept in mind that this projected new highway was asked for thirty-six years after the previous one between the two places had been built. During that interval the trade by wagon between Lancaster and Philadelphia had increased to a wonderful extent.

The Petition.

"To the Honorable John Penn Esquire Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania and counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, and his Honorable Council—

The Petition of divers Inhabitants

of the County of Lancaster Humbly Sheweth

That the great Road from the upper parts of the said County, especially, from the Borough of Lancaster, to Philadelphia, is by the constant use of it with heavy Loaded Carriages, and by its being laid in many places on very bad ground, now rendered almost impassable, and is attended in many parts of it with such Danger and Difficulty, that the Waggoners in many seasons are under the necessity, when heavy loaded, to, or from the Philadelphia Market, of traveling in Parties, that they may afford each other Assistance—

That notwithstanding the great Labor, Care and Expense used in repairing the said road, it is constantly in bad Order: and as the Trade & Commerce of the Province increases, & it is more used by heavy carriages will be still more troublesome and difficult—

"That another Road upon better Ground, and nearer by some Miles, may be had, and is now absolutely necessary for the accommodation of the back inhabitants of the said County in their Commercial intercourse with the City of Philadelphia— The want of a good Road seems to threaten a diversion of the valuable trade of this County or some parts of it, to other places; and now, not only, actually prevents many Farmers from attending the City markets; but puts them under the disagreeable necessity of trusting and giving Commissions to others to carry the produce of their Farms to market, by which, many have suffered greatly: Whereas were the Roads good and safe, their own horses & Carriages might be employed for that purpose, and would take back for them Salt & other Articles

for their home consumption, which they could purchase most reasonably in the City—

"That a King's Highway or Public Road hath lately been laid out by order of the Governor and Council, from the Middle Ferı on Schuy.kill to the Sign of the Ship in Chester county; & from thence along or near the old Gap-Road as far as the Village of Strasburg in Lancaster county— This road, your petitioners beg leave to say, is laid out on much better ground than the old Road, is some miles shorter & your Petitioners conceive is the best, straitest and most convenient Road for the back Inhabitants; and will be of Great Utility to the Trade of Philadelphia. The Inhabitants of Lancaster; and such as shall chose to pass through that Town, from the remote parts of the Province, will have an easy road from thence to the said Public Road, whereby they will shun eight or ten Miles of Hills & bad ground, which are upon the old Road between the Town and the Sign of the Ship; and those whom it may best Suit to take the back Road, from Harris's by the Dunker Town (Ephrata), formerly called Peter's Road, may enter into the Said new laid out Road, near the North Branch of Brandywine Creek & by that means have an easy, safe & shorter Carriage from thence to Philadelphia—

"Your Petitioners therefore pray the Honourable, the Governor & Council, to take the Premises into Consideration, and, as the said New Road seems to have been laid out Chiefly with design to encourage and Secure the Trade of the Inhabitants of the interior parts of the Province to the City of Philadelphia, & is the best Road yet pointed out for that purpose,

to confirm the said New-laid out Road as a King's Highway or Public Road, and to order that the same may be forthwith opened and closed;—

"And your petitioners will pray, etc.

The Signers.

"JOHANNES MILLER
MARTIN MILLER
HENRICH KINDIG
GEORGE DOSH
JACOB RUBLE
JOHANES WURMLE
JOSEPH BRUCHBAKER
DAVID KINPORT
JAMES WRIGHT
SAMUEL BARR
SEBASTIAN GRAFF
JOHN SMITH
ABRAHAM HESS
MATTHIAS GRAFF
PETER FARNEY
ABRAHAM NEWCOMER
LENHART BENDER
JACOB BEISS
JACOB MUMERT
CHRISTIAN STAUFFER
JACOB MEIER
CHRISTIAN STAUFFER
RUDY HERR
MICHAEL SCHAUCK
JACOB BEYER
JOHN CARPENTER
JOHN HERR SR.
JOHN WITMER JUR.
BERNHART ESCHLYMAN
CRISTLI SCHENCK
VALENTIN BRENNOISER
HENRY BOWMAN
GEO. LEONARD
JACOB BEAR
ABRAHAM HEIR
JAMES OLD
JOHN SCHNABELE
PETER HOFFNAGLE
JOHANNES BORCKHALDER
JACOB CARPENTER
EM'L CARPENTER JUNR.
MARTIN MEYER
FRANCIS LEECH
JOHANNES _____
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM MILLER
ANDREAS KUFFMAN
MATTHIAS SLOUGH
WM. ROSS
MICHAEL GROSS
JACOB DUNDORE
JACOB ENCK
JOHANNES ENCK
JACOB MILLER
JACOB CARPENTER
JOHN BRACKBILL
HANNES SINTZENIG
CHARLES PHILLIPS
JOHN HOUSENBERG
JOHN WALTER
JOHN FEREE

HENRICH MATTES
HENRICH NEFF
NICHOLAS STOFFER
JACOB SHEITS
ABRAHAM BUETSCH
JOHN MILLER
JOHN MILLER JUNIOR
JACOB KINDRICK
MARTIN KINDRICK
HENRY WEAVER
JOHN WHITE
HANNES HARNISS
CHRISTIAN MARTY
CHRISTIAN YORDE
EMANUEL KARL
MICHAEL GREITER
JOSEPH HAINS
SAMUEL MILLER
CHRISTIAN CARPENTER
THOS SLECHER
CHRISTIAN NESSELBROOD
HANNES BRUCHBAKER
JOHN BOWMAN
GEORGE WITHER
JOHN WITHER
MATHDES MILLER
CHRISTIAN HARE
ABRAHAM HERR
GEORG STREIN
CHRISTIAN WENDITZ
THO. BARTON
WILL ATTLEE
CHRISTIAN VOGHT
JOHN HOPSON
GEO. MOYER
JOHN FELTMAN
LUDWIG LAUMAN
CHRISTIAN BUCH
CAS. SHAFFNER JN.
LODWICK STONE
FRED STONE
GEORGE EBERLY
ADAM REIGART
CASPAR SHAFFNER
PETER SHAFFNER
MICHAEL FORDINE
GEORGE BETZ
WILLIAM WHITE
SAML. BOYD
CHAS. HALL
WILTON ATKINSON
CHARLES KLUG
BARD HUBLEY
DANL. FRANK
CHRISTOPH ———————
PHILIP FRICK
WILLIAM BAUSMAN
A. HUBLEY
JOHN STONE
MATTHIAS DEHUFF
BENJAMIN POULTNEY
JOSEPH SIMON
JOSEPH DAVIES
ISAAC SOLOMON
JOHN HENRY
MARTIN BAUMAN
EBERHART MICHAEL
WILLIAM BUSCH
ARNOLD BOMBARGER
HENRY DEHUFF

DAVIETT TRESLER
FELLIX McCOWAN
GEORGE BURCKHURST
ANTHONY SNYDER
SIMON SCHNEIDER
EDWD. SHIPPEN
WILLIAM HENRY
JAS. BICKHAM
ADAM SIMON KUHN
EVERHARD GRUBER
EMANUEL CARPENTER
JAMES BURD
ISAAC SANDERS
ROBT. BOYD
J. P. DE HAAS
ZAECHEUS DAVIS
JAS. WORK
ALEXDR. LOWREY FORESMAN
PETER GRUBB
NICKL. HAUSSEGGER
——— HUTTENSTEIN
MARTIN SCHULL
NICKLAUS JOB
DANIEL KINPORT
JACOB SHAFFER
JACOB FETTER."

The Prominent Men in the Community

The chief interest in this old petition, after all, lies in the names that are signed to it. It will be observed that among them are those of the most prominent men in the borough and county at that time and during the remaining years of the eighteenth century. Many of them became the local leaders during the struggle with the Mother Country that came on soon after. An interesting article could be written by singling out a dozen or more of the names set down, and presenting brief sketches of the careers of their owners.

They were the men who were foremost in every public enterprise, men to whom Lancaster city and county owe much of the early and later importance they have attained. A few prominent names, it will be observed, are absent. Judge Jasper Yeates, of the Supreme Bench; General Edward Hand, the gallant soldier; George Ross, the signer; William Webb and Caleb Cope, the prominent Quakers; Paul Zantzinger, the merchant, and

others. One cannot but wonder why their signatures are absent. But the others were for the most part representative men; men of education and culture. Thirteen of them were among the incorporators of tne Juliana Library; fifteen or more were at various times associated with the borough government as Burgesses and Assistant Burgesses. The man would have plenty to do who should take it upon himself to prepare biographical sketches of Judge Atlee, of Parson Barton, William Bausman, Edward Hand, the worthy scion of an illustrious house; William Henry, merchant, patriot, soldier, skillful artisan and useful citizen; the Hubleys, soldiers, and ever true to their trusts; Joseph Simon, richest of all the Indian traders; the Shaffners, good men and true; Col Slough, prominent in all public affairs; the Neffs and the Kuhns, our early doctors; the Carpenters, a goodly list, with that excellent man, Emanuel Carpenter, at the head; the Graffs, than whom none are better known; Alexander Lowrey, Col. Peter Grubb, Col. Philip de Haas, John Hopson, Zaecheus Davis, and, last of all, Col. Nicholas Hoosacker, the soldier of fortune, who deserted the patriot cause, and, with several officers and twenty soldiers, joined the British forces at the battle of Princeton.

All in all, I question whether there is another local document extant that has the signatures of so many notable men attached to it.

Governor Wood, of Virginia.

The interesting letter I have in my hands was purchased a few weeks ago by me at an auction sale of autographs and other library wares. It was written by James Wood, and although the writer was here in Lancaster, apparently on a special mission, our local annals have no record of the event, nor, indeed, any mention of the event, whatever. The letter seemed so interesting, so important, in fact, that further investigation seemed demanded by the circumstances. That was accordingly made and with satisfactory results. But here is the letter:

"Lancaster, 13th July, 1781.

"I have just now the Honor of your Excellency's Letter of the 9th Instant, and have Communicated the Contents to Colo. Hubley, who will take the Necessary steps to Prevent any further Preparations being made in the Neighborhood of York Town. With Respect to Accommodating the whole of the Prisoners, including those of the Convention Troops within the Picquets, I think your information Eroneous; there is at Present upwards of two Hundred men with four Hundred Twenty Seven Women and Children without the Picquets, Sheltered with Blankets and Planks procured by themselves, and yet the Barracks are exceedingly Crowded; Add to this a Malignant Fever Prevails Among them, of which Many have Died, and upwards of One Hundred are now Down with it. Upon the whole, if your Hon. Board Determine

to Keep them here, I think it will be Absolutely Necessary to enlarge the Picquets, and to Direct a Quantity of Oak Plank to be Provided, to make Shelters for themselves, and which may answer as a Temporary Expedient; Besides, I think it would be an Exceeding Proper Measure to have a House Detached from the Barracks, Appropriated for an Hospital, and to remove the Sick as they are taken Down; for the Security of which, a small Detached Guard would be Sufficient.....The Present Guards consist of About three Hundred Non Commissioned and Privates, with their Proper Officers, part of which, were intended to Guard the British to York, and a Guard for the removal of the Seamen now Confined here, to Philadelphia. I am clearly of Opinion that One Hundred and fifty Men properly Officered, will be a sufficient Standing Guard for this Post.—I am Happy to inform your Excellency that I have found a real Disposition in the Commissary of Prisoners, and the Commanding Officers of the Militia to do everything in their Power for the Good of the Service. I shall set Off tomorrow for Reading, and will return in a few Days to this Place, where I shall be ready to receive any further Orders you may think Proper to Honor me with. I am with the Greatest Respect & Esteem.

"Sir,
"Y. Excellency's
"Very Ob. Serv.,
"J. WOOD."

James Wood, once Governor of Virginia, was born in that Colony in the year 1750. His family was a prominent one in his native State. His father, Col. James Wood, was the founder of the city of Winchester, and County

Clerk of Frederick county, showing him to have been a person of standing and influence. The first appearance in public life of James Wood, the younger, the writer of this letter, was in the year 1774, when he was commissioned by Lord Dunmore, the Governor of the State, as a captain of Virginia troops. In the succeeding year, 1775, he was elected, at the early age of twenty-five, a member of the House of Burgesses, from Frederick county.

In the same year he was commissioned to visit, on behalf of Virginia, some Western Indians and invite them to meet Virginia delegates at Fort Pitt to agree upon a treaty. Accompanied by but a single companion he accomplished the purpose of his mission and gained the admiration and respect of those Western tribes. The able manner in which he had acquitted himself brought him new honors. In 1776, the House of Burgesses, of which he was still a member, appointed him on November 12, 1776, a full colonel in the Virginia line, and commander or the Eighth Virginia Regiment.

During the early part of the Revolutionary War he played a prominent part, serving with much gallantry the fortunes of his regiment. When Burgoyne's army was captured in 1778, the British and Hessian soldiers,which had composed it, were sent into captivity at Charlottsville. Col. Wood was placed in command of that important post. In 1781 he was commissioned superintendent of all the prisoners of war in Virginia. It was undoubtedly that fact which brought him North at that time, to Lancaster, Reading, and other localities where prisoners of war were kept in large numbers until they could be sent to Virginia out of the way of recapture.

But for that fact the letter now in evidence would never have been written and our Society remained unacquainted of the presence of this distinguished Virginian among us.

But his native State seems not to have tired of honoring him. In 1783, the War for Independence being over, the Governor of Virginia commissioned him a Brigadier General of State troops. He was also elected for several terms a member of the Virginia Council, and by seniority in that body became the Lieutenant Governor of the State. In 1789 he was chosen one of the Presidential Electors for Virginia when that State cast its electoral vote for George Washington. But a still higher honor awaited him. He was elected Governor of his native State and served in that capacity from December 1, 1796, to December 1, 1799, when he was succeeded by no less an illustrious person than James Monroe, a future President of the United States. His public services covered a period of more than twenty-five years, and in honor thereof Wood county (now included in West Virginia) was named for him.

Like his fellow-Virginians, Washington and Jefferson, Governor Wood believed slavery to be an evil, and was in 1797 elected the Vice President, and in 1801 the President of the Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery in Virginia. On October 9, 1784, he became a member of the Virginia branch of the Society of the Cincinnati, and was elected its Vice President on December 4, 1789, becoming President of the same on January 17, 1802, serving in that capacity until his death at Olney, near Richmond, July 16, 1813.

Governor Wood was married to Jean Moncure in 1775. She was born in

Virginia in 1754; was the daughter of Rev. John Moncure, an Episcopal clergyman, and a native of Scotland. She appears to have been a woman of great amiability and nobility of character. Her later years were devoted to Christian work, in which she exhibited great zeal and benevolence. She was one of the main promoters of the Female Humane Association, of Richmond, incorporated in 1811, and of which she was the first President. She was also a poetess of no small ability. A collection of her poetical effusions, entitled "Flowers and Weeds of the Old Dominion," was published in 1859.

A THOMAS BARTON LETTER.

"For ask now of the days that are past."—Deuteronomy 4:22.

The original letter of Rev. Thomas Barton to Rev. Richard Peters, D.D., which is herewith shown, was a purchase of the President, Mr. Geo. Steinman. In Volume 9, No. 9, Lancaster County Historical Publications, I gave a biographical sketch of Mr. Barton, and, at the request of Mr. Steinman, add the following as a supplement, and also a sketch of Mr. Peters and Mr. Alricks, in whose interest the letter is written. As stated in the previous article, he was a loyalist at the time of the Revolution, and the following extracts will show how many annoyances and trials he endured for his loyalty to the Church and State of his mother country. In Christopher Marshall's diary—so full of the history of our city during the war—I find, on May 22, 1778, he states: "In the evening had some conversation with several of our Assembly, respecting petitions being sent to them to take the Abjuration out of the 'Test of Allegiance and Fidelity.' One of them was from the Moravian (minister), one from Thos. Barton, minister of the Church of England in this borough, both of which were rejected." And again on June 2, 1778: "Was informed that Parson Barton had petitioned Council for leave to sell his estate and leave the State, agreeably to the Act in that case made and provided, which he presumed would be granted." And on May 4, 1778, the

diary again states: "A day or two past Thomas Barton, missionary, petitioned Council for leave to sell his estate and remove out of this State, which was granted under the limitations contained in the said Act;" and further, October 3, 1778: "This morning, I presume, Parson Barton moved off the last of his effects, in two covered wagons."

Record book S, Recorder's office, Lancaster, Pa., pages 724 and 727, gives the deed of Thomas and Sarah Barton

"To Paul Zantzinger, executed August 26, 1778.

"The said Thomas Barton choosing to sell his estate, real, retire out of the State, both in pursuance of an Act of General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania, entitled an Act for the further security of the Government,' obtained permission from the Supreme Council of the said State, given by order of the Council, under the hand of the Honorable George Bryan, Vice President, and the great Seal of the State, at Lancaster, on the 30th day of May, 1778, to sell, convey and confirm, at any time within ninety days after the date thereof, of his estate, real, to any person or persons, their heirs and assigns forever."

The following is a copy of the letter of Rev. Barton to Rev. Richard Peters:

"Revd. dear Sir:

"I have the misfortune to acquaint you that we are all Confusion. Within 12 miles of my House, two Families, consisting of 11 Persons, were murder'd and taken—and in the Counties of Lancaster and Cumberland the People are daily alarm'd with fresh

Ravages and Murders. The poor Inhabitants are flying in numbers into the interior Parts. I prevailed yesterday upon the Inhabitants of Canawago and Bermudian to assemble themselves together, and, forming themselves into Companies, to guard the Frontiers of this County till we see what will be done by the Troops, who are going upon the Western Expedition, and I hope by this means we shall be able to keep these settlements from breaking up. Mr. Alricks tells me that he is determined (provided he can obtain the Governor's permission) to go out to the Ohio a volunteer in Defence of his King and Country. As he is certainly a Man of Resolution and valour; a man who can undergo Hardships and Fatigues; and, moreover, a man who has an Interest with, and an Influence upon the Country People, and is as likely to raise a number of them as any man I know, I think he stands well entitled to a Commission, and as I make no doubt but his Honour, the Governor, will have these Qualifications in view in the Disposition of the Commissions now to be given out, I hope this Gentleman will not be forgot. I well know that the least Representation from you in his Favor will do the Business for him; and he and his Friends will ever gratefully acknowledge your Friendship upon this occasion.

"I am, Worthy Sir
"Your faithful and affectionate
Friend and Servant,
"THO' BARTON.

"Huntington, April 11, 1758,
"directed,
"Rev. Mr. Peters."

Conewago and Huntington were townships in York county and Bermudian a hamlet in Latimer township,

also in York county, at the date of Mr. Barton's letter, but are now part of Adams county, which was taken from York, January 22, 1800.

Rev. Richards Peters, D.D.

Richard Peters was born in Liverpool, England, in 1704 and died in Philadelphia, July 10, 1776. His father was Richard Peters, a Town Clerk of his native town. Richard Peters was educated at Westminster School and at Oxford and Leyden. After the study of law for several years, it is said, his "honesty and candor" made the practice of law distasteful to him, and he decided to assume the gown of a clergyman. He had been unfortunate in his first marriage, at the early age of fourteen, which induced him to seek a home in the colonies, coming to Pennsylvania in the year 1735. He was assistant rector at Christ Church for a short time, and resigned in 1737. The Governor appointed him Provincial Secretary and Clerk of Council, June 6, 1747, and member of the Provincial Council May 19, 1748, and held the office until his death.

September 21, 1753, the Governor, desiring the following men to transact the business with the chiefs relative to Indian affairs, the following commission was executed and delivered to them:

"George the Second, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and so forth,

"To our trusty and well beloved Richard Peters, Isaac Norris and Benjamin Franklin, Esquires, Greeting, etc."

He was also Secretary of the Land Office. In 1762 he was invited to be-

come rector of the united churches of Christ and St. Peter, in Philadelphia, and continued until his resignation, in September, 1775. He visited England in 1764 for his health.

In 1741 the churchmen of Philadelphia manifested some dissatisfaction to the alleged supremacy of the Bishop of London, saying, in the case of the Rev. Richard Peters, who was serving as the Secretary and agent of the proprietaries, that as the Bishop declined to license him for their church, after they had chosen him (alleging for his reason his living by his lay functions), they would not accept any person whom he might license, they saying. his diocese did not extend to this province. Mr. Peters himself alleged that the right of presentation lay in the proprietaries and Governor. Bishop White speaks of Dr. Peters "with respect and affection," he having been one of the assistant ministers in the united churches during the latter years of Dr. Peters' rectorship. Bishop White says that he had adopted the fantastical notions of Jacob Bochman, the German cobbler, in regard to the "onward light" and kindred topics, and he was a public opponent of George Whitfield during the latter's evangelistic journey through the country. Richard Peters received the degree of D.D. from the University of Oxford in 1770. He was one of those, with Benjamin Franklin, who founded the public academy out of which grew the College of Philadelphia. He was one of the original Trustees and President of the Board in 1756-64; an incorporator of the Philadelphia Library, and an original manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital. The distinguished jurist, Richard Peters,of Pennsylvania, was a nephew of Dr. Richard Peters, the subject of this sketch.

In Pa. Archives, 1 Series, Vol. 3, page 80, a letter is published from Rev. Henry Muhlenberg, addressed to Rev. Richard Peters, reprimanding him for holding a public office when an ordained minister. I quote the following to show the high esteem he had for his character, as well as the appreciation of his varied talents:

"Reverend Sir: Having the Honour to be in Your Company, together with Mr. Acrelius, etc., on the Evening of October 31st, a. c., and hearing you argue about Substantial Points of real Religion, I perceived something (quoique Sans Comparison) that made me think like the passage from First Kings, chapter X, verse 7, 'Howbeit I believed not the words, until I came and mine eyes had seen it; and, behold the half was not told me; thy wisdom and prosperity exceedeth the fame which I heard.'"

This reproof recalls the story, no doubt familiar to you all, when the son of this Lutheran divine,John Peter Muhlenberg, and also a clergyman, forsook his calling. General Washington offered him a commission as Colonel of the Eighth Regiment, which he accepted. Ascending his pulpit for the last time, he preached upon the duties men owe their country, and said there was "a time for all things—a time to preach and a time to fight," and later removed the clerical gown, which had concealed the military uniform during his discourse, and he stood before his congregation ready for battle.

Hermanus Alricks.

Hermanus Alricks, mentioned in Rev. Thomas Barton's letter, was a

son of Wessels Alricks, born in Philadelphia about 1727, and descended from the family of that name prominent in the early history of the settlements on the Delaware. The first of the name mentioned was Jacob Alricks, who controlled the government of a Dutch colony as Director in 1656, coming to this country from Holland. His position was attended with many trials, and he died December 30, 1659. Peter Alricks served as Deputy Governor over the dominion of the Dutch colony from September 19, 1673, to November 10, 1674; also, as Justice, October 16, 1677; Bailiff, Assistant Commissaries and other offices of trust. Hermanus Alricks moved to Cumberland county just prior to the organization of the county, which was on January 27, 1750, and was appointed the first Justice, May 10, 1750, an office he held until his death. He was among the first members of the Provincial Assembly from the county, and was also Prothonotary, Clerk of Courts, Register and Recorder. He was certainly a man respected and honored by his constituents, and by the complimentary remarks of Mr. Barton a man of resolution and valor. He died in Carlisle on December 14, 1772. Col. Alexander Lowrey, of this county, married the widow of Hermanus Alricks, upon a second marriage, and is the ancestor of our distinguished historian of Lancaster county, Samuel Evans, of Columbia.

A BUCHANAN MYTH.

A very good illustration of "history as it is written," especially the biographical branch of it, is found in a story sketch by the Louisville Herald, and being widely republished as authentic, telling how Ben Hardin's ill-fitting suit of tow linen worn at the Bar of Hardin county, Ky., in 1813, "changed the whole course of American history." Briefly stated, the narrative goes, in that year the late James Buchanan, afterwards President, located at Elizabethtown, Hardin county, Ky., to practice law, his choice being directed by the fact that his father owned a tract of land near there—the county, by the way, in which Lincoln was born, and where he then lived, a five-year-old lad. The story proceeds thus: Buchanan, then three and twenty, a college graduate and a lawyer, had little fitness for the rough-and-ready sides of frontier life. Attending the first term of Court after his arrival, he noticed, among the visiting lawyers, the celebrated Ben Hardin, in a suit of unbleached tow linen, ill-fitting and badly built, giving its gifted wearer a clownish appearance. Buchanan felt surprised to see this ungainly looking person take a seat among the lawyers.

A case was called the third day of the term, in which the pleadings were very intricate, and after the strictest English forms before the days of Chitty. The future President's wonder was inexpressible when he saw Hardin take hold of this case with the astonishing skill and force. The

WHEATLAND, THE RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN, NEAR LANCASTER.

arguments of the rough-looking Kentucky lawyer were masterpieces of learning, logic and clearness. Before he left the court room that day young Buchanan resolved that where such ill-favored looking lawyers possessed so much learning and power there was small show for a budding Pennsylvania tender-foot. Rather than struggle for success at the Bar with such giants as Hardin and his colleagues, he would go back to his native Keystone Commonwealth. Meeting Mr. Hardin afterwards in Congress, 1821-1823, Mr. Buchanan declared that he went to Kentucky expecting to be a great man there, that so many lawyers he came in contact with there were his equals and so many again his superiors that he gave it up.

Of all this we may fairly say: "Important—if true." The facts, however, will scarcely bear it out. Mr. Buchanan was born April 23, 1791. He was educated in a classical school at Mercersburg; entered the junior class of Dickinson College in the fall of 1807; was well-nigh expelled for disorder in the fall of 1808; missed honors only for misconduct; came to Lancaster to study law with James Hopkins in December, 1809; was admitted to practice in November, 1812; he made his first public address at a popular meeting held in this city in 1814 for the purpose of obtaining volunteers to march to the defense of Baltimore soon after the British had captured Washington and burned the capitol. He was one of the first to register his name as a volunteer and marched to Baltimore as a dragoon under Captain Henry Shippen. About the same time, in October, 1814, he was elected to the House of Representatives; he was sent to Congress when

twenty-nine years of age; and exactly forty when Jackson made him Minister to Russia, and at forty-two was elected to the United States Senate.

That during this period he made a professional incursion into Kentucky or was a party to any of the incidents above related is certainly apocryphal. We have no diary of his movements in 1813; but there is little probability and no trace in his biographical papers or autobiographical notes that he ever entertained any notion of leaving Lancaster or that there was any such incident between his admission to the Bar and his early entry into public life. Moreover, on September 13, 1813, we find his father, writing to James, then at Lancaster, giving an account of how a Federalist preacher in Mercersburg on a first day had deprecated the war with England as a judgment and calamity.

Whatever glory attached to Mr. Buchanan's early career—and it was certainly an illustrious one—belongs wholly to Lancaster county. None of it, we are confident, is to be shared by the "dark and bloody" soil of old Kentucky.

Minutes of the May Meeting

Lancaster, Pa., May 4, 1906.

The May meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this (Friday) evening in the Society's room, in the Young Men's Christian Association building, President Steinman in the chair.

The roll of officers was called and the absentees noted. Owing to a press of business, the reading of the minutes of the March meeting was, on motion, dispensed with.

The election of members being in order, Mr. William M. Mervine, of Edgewater, N. J.; Mr. George R. Seiffert, of Philadelphia, and Rev. Henry G. Ganss, of Carlisle, were elected to membership. The application of Jacob M. Frantz, of Wabank, was received, and, under the rules, laid over until the June meeting.

The donations to the Society consisted of the following items: Proceedings of the American Jewish Historical Society, Volume 14; Exchanges from the New York Public Library, the Lebanon County Historical Society, the Ryerson Public Library, Michigan; the Carnegie Library, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the Annals of Iowa, German-American Annals, Historical Society of Delaware, American Catholic Historical Society, the Linden Hall Echo, three old Columbia borough loan notes, of 1837, from Samuel Evans, Esq.; fac-simile copy of the Newport Mercury of October 27, 1781, and a certified copy of an old road petition, from Luther R.

Kelker, of Harrisburg. The thanks of the Society were extended to the donors in the usual formal way.

The first paper of the evening was called forth by a letter written by Colonel James Wood, of Virginia, later Governor of that State, from Lancaster, to President Reed, in 1781, relative to the condition of the English and German prisoners of war held in captivity in Lancaster at that time. The paper was prepared by President Steinman, and was read by Miss Martha B. Clark.

The second paper was prepared by the Secretary. It was founded on a petition recently unearthed in the manuscript archives at Harrisburg, from the citizens of Lancaster city and county to the Provincial Council and Governor Thomas Penn, in 1770, asking that a new and better highway should be laid out between Lancaster and Philadelphia. The petition has the names of 155 of the more prominent men of the city and county, and is nearly four feet long by two in width. An authenticated copy was presented to the Society, copied from the original by direction of Mr. Luther R. Kelker, Custodian of the State Public Records at Harrisburg. The Secretary stated that this and other courtesies had recently been extended to the Society, without charge, by the Archives Department at Harrisburg. On motion of Dr. Houston, the thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Kelker for his generous favors.

A third paper, based on a letter written by the Rev. Thomas Barton, Loyalist, of Lancaster, to Rev. Dr. Peters, of Philadelphia, prepared by Miss Clark, was read by that lady, accompanied by very full biographical sketches of Mr. Barton, and the other personages mentioned therein.

A fourth brief article, prepared by ex-Attorney General W. U. Hensel, relative to a claim made by Kentucky, that President James Buchanan had at one time commenced the practice of law in that State, was read, and the claim effectively disposed of by irrefutable proof to the contrary.

The thanks of the Society were extended to all the writers of the foregoing articles, and they were ordered to be printed in the usual way.

The new By-Laws of the Society recently prepared by the Executive Committee came up for adoption under the head of unfinished business. A few amendments and changes were offered and made, and the whole then adopted. The new Constitution and By-Laws were then, on motion, ordered to be printed in book form and in the next pamphlet, accompanied by a full list of the members of the Society.

The propriety of holding the usual mid-summer outing was called up,and suggestions asked for. The Brandywine battlefield, Muddy Creek church, Ephrata, Lititz and Manheim, were all suggested, but did not seem to find favor. When Harrisburg was suggested there was an immediate concurrence of views. The matter was left to a committee of seven, namely: Samuel R. Weaver, Esq., R. M. Reilly, Esq., Martha B. Clark, Mrs. James D. Landis, Mrs. A. K. Hostetter, Mrs. P. A. Metzger and Mrs. Alexander, to report at the next meeting.

A letter was received from the General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., stating that the increasing work in the boys' department of the Association would require the use of the room now occupied by the Historical Society, and that by next September the room would have to be vacated. The

communication was referred to the Executive Committee.

The delegates appointed by the Society as the representatives at the two hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Benjamin Franklin, celebrated in Philadelphia, under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society, Messrs. Dubbs, Sener and Diffenderffer, reported having performed that pleasant duty. The celebration was on a magnificent scale and carried out with the fullest possible success. The delegates were the recipients of many courtesies by the Philosophical Society, whose guests they were, and reported that the Lancaster County Historical Society was one of the two Historical Societies in the State to be either represented or invited,the State Historical Society being the other one.

The meeting was unusually well attended, the room being filled to its fullest capacity, showing an ever-increasing interest in the organization.

There being no further business before the Society, a motion to adjourn was made and carried.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JUNE 1, 1906.

ODDS AND ENDS OF LOCAL HISTORY.

PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN OR PENNSYLVANIA-DUTCH.

MINUTES OF THE JUNE MEETING.

CHARTER OF THE SOCIETY.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

VOL. X. NO. 6.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1906.

Odds and Ends of Local History, - - - - - 181
By F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D.

Pennsylvania-German or Pennsylvania-Dutch, - - - 216
By R. K. Buehrle, Ph.D.

Minutes of the June Meeting, - - - - - - 222

Charter of the Society, - - - - - - - 225

Constitution and By-Laws, - - - - - - - 230

List of Officers, - - - - - - - - - - 235

List of Members, - - - - - - - - - - 236

Odds and Ends of Local History.

It will be very generally conceded, I believe, that the four or five histories of Lancaster county which have been given to the public during the past sixty years have covered the field fairly well, both in their fullness of detail and their accuracy in the statement of facts. There are a good many things in some of them that might have been left out, and some things that have been left out that we might care to see there. But these things are inseparable from all writings of that kind. We don't all place the same estimate on the importance of this or that fact or occurrence. A question arises, for example, concerning which we would like fuller details. We refer to the history at hand, find the fact recorded, but the details are missing. Of course, we feel that the author made a mistake in omitting them, but it is well to remember that everything cannot be put into the book and that something more important may have taken the place of what we sought, and that the history is better than we are willing to allow.

Then, again, history is not a completed thing. It is continuous, progressive, and never will be finished. There is here and there a hiatus which cannot be filled, that is, not now, but later investigations and discoveries may supply the missing link and the completed chain be forged at last. There is consolation in that thought, for we are all aware that many doubtful questions have come before us from time to time which the discovery

of some document or other unknown record will in time clear up. During our brief existence as a society, a number of such papers have come to the light which have added not a little to our stock of local historical knowledge. Many more such I doubt not will in time come to the light, so that when the next county historian comes to the front he will be supplied with a stock of unused materials that will enable him to improve on the work of his predecessors.

Provinces and Colonies.

I beg leave at the outset of this somewhat discursive paper to recall to your minds a fact that is not always observed in speaking and writing of the Colonial period in our history. We are accustomed to say "The Thirteen Colonies," when, in fact, there were only eleven Colonies and two Provinces, the latter being Pennsylvania and Maryland. The difference between the two kinds was this. The Provinces were grants of Territory from the King to single individuals who were by their charters the sole owners and given the right to be Governors thereof themselves, and to select Deputy Governors to rule in their stead. In Pennsylvania, William Penn was proprietor and could exercise the authority of Governor, or delegate that power to others; he did both. The Calverts exercised the same rights in their Province of Maryland. In the case of the Colonies, however, the Governors were the appointees of the British Crown and subject to removal by the same authority. The proprietary dependencies were far more independent in their forms of government than the Colonies. Most of the acts passed by the Provincial Assembly became laws without the ap-

proval of the Crown, no action having been taken in regard to them by the latter.

Penn's Special Privileges.

In some respects the Legislative process in Pennsylvania differed from that of all other British dependencies in America. The acts of the Council could be vetoed by the Governors and Deputy Governors, but if approved by them, then, by the terms of Penn's charter, they had to be submitted for final approval to the Council of the King, and those rights were exercised on both sides down to the period of the Revolution. Such laws, however, became operative from the time of their enactment. If the King's Council failed to act upon or dispose of them within the period of six months after their submission, then by another provision in Penn's charter they became as valid as if they had received the King's approval. The reason for the insertion of this proviso in the charter was to prevent the enactment of any legislation that might be inimical to royal prerogatives or the interests of the realm.

Our Local History.

Lancaster county has had a wonderful history during the nearly two hundred years it has been known as such. No other county in the State, except Philadelphia only, can equal it. The records at Harrisburg, published and unpublished, show that. They are too voluminous for any ordinary history to take in, and some must, from the very necessities of the case, be left out. It has occurred to me that a selection of a few "Odds and Ends," scraps, as it were,of our local history, which have for the most part been omitted by historians in their books, may be re-

called. Some of them may even be new to all of us. The following, therefore,have been dug out of their quiet resting places and been thrown together to take the place of something better. There has been no attempt at systematic arrangement as to subjects or otherwise, but the different excerpts are presented as dug out of their resting places in our history, not even the chronology being observed.

Discrimination Against Foreigners.

All immigrants coming into Pennsylvania that were not British subjects inEurope were for a long time denied the privilege of naturalization. Germans came into this country as early as 1709. They soon discovered that as long as they were not naturalized residents they were under many disadvantages, and they consequently at an early period prayed the authorities to grant them that privilege. Their petitions were treated with the utmost indifference by Governor Sir William Keith from 1721 to 1724, when a bill to that effect was passed. Governor Gordon, who succeeded him, was more liberal. Before naturalization was granted them they were obliged to swear to the value of their possessions and declare their religious views. They were denounced as being peculiar in their dress, religion and notions of political government and resolved to speak their own language, and acknowledge but the great Creator of the Universe. Governor Gordon, however, was a man of broad views, and when he laid the petition of a large number from this county before the House in 1730, he used this language: "It likewise appears to me by good information, that they have hitherto behaved themselves well, and have generally

so good a Character for Honesty & Industry as deserves the Esteem of this Government, & a Mark of its Regard for them."[1] But they kept coming in such numbers that a tax of 40 shillings per head was laid on them.

It appears that prior to 1730, fully twenty years after the first settlers entered Lancaster county, there was no road to Philadelphia. In that year the Grand Jury, the magistrates and others petitioned that a road should be laid out and that resulted in the well-known King's Highway.

Troubles With Lord Baltimore.

Prior to the erection of the county, in 1729, no English settlers had crossed to the other side of the Susquehanna. By 1732, however, a number of families settled there, who acknowledged fealty to the Pennsylvania authorities. Unfortunately, Lord Baltimore claimed the same lands under his own grant. Trouble arose out of the situation, and deeds of violence were done by both sides. The notorious Thomas Creasap was the leader among the Marylanders, and committed many outrages, but finally the Pennsylvania authorities captured him. An almost interminable correspondence was carried on between the authorities of the two provinces, and the case was not settled finally until Mason and Dixon's Line was run, in 1766.

A curious incident resulted out of those early frontier troubles. One Joseph Evans, a citizen of this county, had crossed the Susquehanna, cleared a tract of land and built a good two-story dwelling. He was taken prisoner by Lord Baltimore's people and put into jail at Annapolis. He was re-

[1]Col. Rec. Vol. 3, p. 374.

leased, and returned to his home on the night of November 21-22, 1737. His house took fire, from which he, his wife and two small children narrowly escaped. In consequence of these misfortunes, he was granted permission by the council "to ask and receive the charitable contributions of well-disposed Persons within the several counties of this Province for the space of three months."[2] It seems odd that legislation should have been deemed necessary in such a case.

Bounties for Indian Scalps.

Although it is a matter not relating to Lancaster county especially, yet it concerned us, along with the rest of the frontier counties, therefore, I direct your attention to the fact that, almost driven to desperation by the continual Indian raids and depredations along the Blue Ridge range of mountains, and as a means of putting an end to them, if possible, as late as 1764, John Penn, the then Governor, recommended to the Council that a bounty be paid for the scalps of Indians. Council regarded the Governor's suggestion favorably,and on July 6, 1764, it was agreed "that in order to prosecute the Indian War with the more vigour, and to spirit up the People to pursue and harrass the Savages in their own Country, it would be necessary at this time to offer great rewards by Proclamation, for all Indian Enemy Prisoners & Scalps that shall be taken within this Province. Whereupon it was agreed by that Board that the following Premiums be offered by Proclamation, for Prisoners & Scalps of the Enemy. Indians that shall be taken or killed within the Bounds of this Province, as follows:

[2]Col. Rec. Vol. 4, p. 259.

"For every Male Indian Enemy above ten Years old taken Prisoner and delivered to the Officer of any Fort garrisoned by the Troops in the pay of this Province, or to the Keeper of the common Goal of any County Town, within this Government, One hundred and fifty Spanish Dollars.

"For every Female Indian Enemy, and for every Male Indian of 10 Years old and under, taken & delivered as aforesaid, 130 Spanish pieces of Eight.[3]

"For the Scalp of every Male Indian Enemy above the age of ten Years, produced as Evidence as aforesaid, 134 pieces of Eight.

"And for the Scalp of every Female Indian Enemy above the age of 10 Years produced as Evidence aforesaid, 50 pieces of Eight.

"And that there shall be paid to every Officer or Officers, Soldier or Soldiers, in the pay of this Province, one-half of the above Rewards.

"And that the Six Nations, or any other Indians in Amity with the Crown of Great Britain be excepted out of the said Proclamation."[4]

The Proclamation.

On the following day Governor Penn issued a lengthy proclamation embodying the above programme. The provocation was great and the spirit of the times was different from that of our own day, but even under that view of the case the measure was unworthy of a people who claimed to be governed by humane and Christian sentiments. How shall we reconcile it with the sentiments that appeared twelve years later in our Declaration of Independence, which

[3]The Piece of Eight was the Spanish Silver dollar of eight reals.
[4]Col. Rec. Vol. 9, pp. 188-89.

reads as follows: "He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions." He did all that, but he offered no bounties for scalps!

Great Britain Discourages Colonial Industries.

In proof of the fact that the mother country did all she could to prevent the Colonies from embarking in such manufactures and industries as would compete with her home ones, the following example may be quoted. She was fearful the Americans were going to make iron, steel, glass and other articles.

In 1750, the English Parliament passed "An act to encourage the Importation of Pig and Bar Iron from his Majesties' Colonies in America, and to prevent the erection of any Mill or other Engine for Slitting or Rolling of Iron, or any plating Forge to work with a Tilt Hammer, or any Furnace for Making Steel in any of the said Colonies," and it was further enacted that after June 24th of that year, every Governor, Lieut. Governor and Commander-in-Chief of his Majesties' Colonies in America should forthwith transmit to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations a particular account of every mill or engine for slitting and rolling iron and every furnace for making steel erected in the colonies and the place of their erection, with the names of the proprietors and the name and number in each colony.[5]

[5]Col. Rec. Vol. 5, pp. 457-8.

Lancaster County's Report.

In accordance with that act, Lieut. Governor James Hamilton, on August 16, 1750, issued a proclamation directed to the Sheriff of every county in the Province to present himself to the Governor, at Philadelphia, on or before September 1 of the same year, to make known and certify to the number of such iron and steel mills and furnaces.

In accordance with that mandate, I find the following reply from Andrew Work, the then Sheriff of Lancaster county:

"To the Honorable, the Governor of Pennsylvania.

"May it please the Governor.

"On Receit of Your Honor's Proclamation, relating to Slitting Mill, etc., I immediately published it, and made it my Business to enquire whether there were within this county, any such Mills as are there described, and on the strictest Enquiry, I do hereby certify to your Honour, that there is not within the county of Lancaster any mill or Engine for Slitting or Rolling of Iron, or any plating Forge to work with a Tilt Hammer, or Furnace for making Steel. Witness my hand and Seal, this Third day of September, in the One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty.

"ANDREW WORK Sheriff (L.S.)."[6]

Soldiers and Their Dogs.

At the breaking out of the Indian hostilities in 1764 and as Colonel Boquet was getting ready to begin his march westward to chastise them, Mr. James Webb, then Barrack master in this city, was ordered by Joseph Shippen, Jr., to clean out the Barracks

[6]Penna. Archives, Vol. 2, p. 55.

and get them ready for the accommodation of some companies of provincial soldiers who were ordered to rendezvous at Lancaster about the first of July in that year. By the way, I almost forgot to mention that the Governor and Commission gave notice that they "have agreed to allow Three Shillings per month to Every Soldier who brings a Strong Dog that will be judged proper to be employed in discouvering and pursuing the Savages, and recommended to procure as many as they can, not exceeding Ten per company. Each Dog is to be kept tied and led by his Master."[7]

The companies of soldiers alluded to above were mustered into service in this borough on July 23,24 and 25, 1764. There were thirteen companies, and they numbered 532 men, exclusive of officers.[8]

The Conestoga Massacre.

For a long time prior to the murder of the Conestoga Indians at Conestoga Manor and in the Lancaster workhouse, the opinion prevailed that these same Indians, if not themselves guilty of certain thefts and murders on the frontiers, were in close alliance with those who committed the outrages. However, as there was no proof of the charge, and as the Government could take no steps in the matter without evidence, the "Paxton Boys" at last took the matter into their own hands, with results known to all here. But that was not the only result. Not long after that, the State authorities had brought down from their homes at Bethlehem and Nazareth about 140 friendly Indians, and placed them for greater security on

[7]Col. Rec. Vol. 4, p. 180.
[8]Penna. Archives, Vol. 4, pp. 495-6.

Province Island in the Delaware river. Not content with having wiped out the Conestogas, the same frontiersmen from Paxtang, Hanover and Lebanon townships now conceived the idea of marching down to Philadelphia and doing on Province Island what they had done at Conestoga Manor. Great consternation prevailed. The 200 pounds reward which Governor Penn had offered for the capture of any three of the ringleaders in the massacre was not productive of results. Where all the inhabitants were of the same way of thinking, and perhaps nearly all equally guilty, there could hardly be any informers.

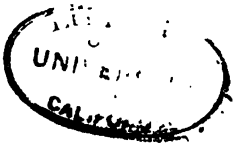
The Demonstration on Philadelphia.

News reached Philadelphia that a large band of armed men were about to march on Philadelphia. The news received further confirmation from the affidavit of one Benjamin Kendall, a Quaker merchant of Lancaster, who testified before the Board of Council and in the presence of Governor Penn, that two days before, on January 26 (1764), when about two miles east of the Hat Tavern, kept by Samuel Smith, he met with Robert Fulton, a citizen of good repute. This Robert Fulton was the father of Robert Fulton, the inventor, who built the first successful steamboat in America. Fulton told him, Kendall, that one Captain Coultas had been appointed to raise and command 500 men to guard and protect the Indians at Philadelphia, and that he, the said Fulton, was very sorry to hear it, because in ten days fifteen hundred men would come down to kill the said Indians; and that if fifteen hundred were not

enough, five thousand more were ready to join them, and that Fulton requested Kendall to notify Captain Coultas that he, Coultas, should make his peace with heaven, because he was not likely to live two weeks longer. To that Kendall replied that he was sorry to hear Fulton talk in that manner, and, as he knew that Fulton had much influence with the people who intended to go down to Philadelphia, he requested him to use that influence in persuading them to desist from their design. To that request Fulton responded that if Gabriel was to come down from heaven and tell them they were wrong,they would not desist,for they were of the same spirit with the blood-ran, blood-thirsty Presbyterians who cut off King James' head. Kendall then said to Fulton that he had heard they intended to kill the Quakers, to which Fulton answered: "No, God forbid, but they or any others who should oppose them, they would kill." Another man who accompanied Fulton also declared that somewhere in his own neighborhood, where he had lately been, there was a store in which there was a magazine containing three half-barrels of gunpowder and one hundred small arms.

King's Troops Ordered to Lancaster.

As a result of that affidavit, the Council advised the Governor to order the officer in charge of the Philadelphia barracks, one Captain Schlosser, to fire upon any body of armed men who might come to try to force their way into the barracks. They also advised the Governor to order the royal troops stationed at Carlisle, consisting of three companies of Highlanders, to march at once to Lancaster. In accordance with that advice Governor Penn



sent the following letter by special express to Captain William Murray, in command of His Majesty's troops at Carlisle:

"Philadelphia, 29th Jan., 1765.

"Sir: Some time ago several daring tumults and insurrections in the County of Lancaster obliged me to apply to His Excellency, General Gage, for the aid of His Majesty's regular Troops in this Province, to support the civil Authority in the Execution of the Laws, whereupon he was pleased to favor me with the enclosed order to the Officer commanding His Majesty's Forces at Carlisle, dated the 6th Instant, directing and requiring him to pay due Obedience to all such Orders as I should judge necessary to transmit to him, to effect the above mentioned Purpose. I was in hopes I should not have occasion to exert the power the General has put into my hands, but the public Security and the preservation of His Majesty's Peace now lays me under the disagreeable necessity of doing it, and of desiring, that you will, immediately, on the receipt hereof, March with all His Majesty's Forces under your Command, with the greatest Expedition, down to the Burrough of Lancaster, where you are to take quarters in the Barracks, & there remain until you shall receive my further Orders, holding yourself always in readiness to march from thence to such places and in such Services as the preservation of the Public Peace may make it necessary for me to require you.

"I am Sir

"Your most Obedt. humble Servant.

"JOHN PENN."

Philadelphia's Alarm Perhaps Justified

But the excitement was not yet ended. This action led to meetings in the frontier counties at which a protesting proclamation was drawn up, signed by Mathew Smit and James Gibson, representing themselves and the inhabitants, in which their Indian grievances were related at length. Delegates were also appointed to go to Philadelphia and bring the matter to the direct notice of the Governor and the Council, and a body of these men did go. They were the army spoken of in the affidavit of Quaker Kendall. It is denied that they were bent on a warlike mission. Egle ridicules the idea, but we are tempted to ask why a few men would not have been enough, instead of the considerable force that accompanied Messrs. Smith and Gibson. Egle was all his life the sturdy advocate of the Paxtang murderers, and his views of the situation must be received with caution.[9] Besides, is it likely that the Government would have placed the Indians under the charge of the regular troops, fortified the position where they were kept, and mounted eight pieces of cannon thereon, if they did not believe this large concourse of frontiersmen was not bent on mischief? Are a thousand men, or even five hundred, necessary for such a peaceful errand as has been claimed for them? The question would seem to answer itself.

First Names of Our Wards.

It is within the memory of some persons in this room to-night when we had only four wards in the city. Our city manual tells us that at first there were only two wards. All that portion lying east of Queen street was

[9]Egle's Hist. of Penna., pp. 115-22.

called East Ward and all that to the west of Queen street the West Ward. In 1818 the city was divided into four district or wards—the Northwest and Northeast, and the Southwest and Southeast wards. Some here remember, also, when High Constable John Myers presided over their united destinies. But there was still another division, with another nomenclature, few of us ever heard.

By an Act passed by the General Assembly, on September 20, 1765, it was enacted "That the said borough shall be and hereby is divided into four wards in the manner following: That is to say, all that part of the said borough to the north of King street and to the east of Queen street shall be called King's ward; and all that part of the said borough to the north of King street and to the west of Queen street shall be called Queen's ward; and all that part of the said borough to the south of King street and east of Queen street shall be called Prince's ward; and all that part of the said borough to the south of King street and west of Queen street shall be called Duke's ward."[10]

At the same time the Burgesses and Assistant Burgesses were authorized to put up lamps at such places as they saw fit, and also appoint, hire and employ as many watchmen as they shall judge necessary, and that wages be paid to them. The watchmen were to be on duty from ten in the evening until four in the morning.

Under the same Act the Burgesses were required to inquire into the condition of the pumps in the streets and alleys of the borough, and if they got out of order, and the owners refused to repair them for the space of three months, then forever thereafter the

[10]Penna. Statutes at Large, Vol. 6, pp. 442-3.

said pumps should become the property of the corporation, to be maintained at the public charge. The owners of pumps who kept them in good condition were allowed six shillings yearly. To break a pump handle or carry it away subjected the offender to a fine of five pounds for every offense. For breaking a lamp or extinguishing it, the fine was 40 shillings.[11]

No Factories of Any Account.

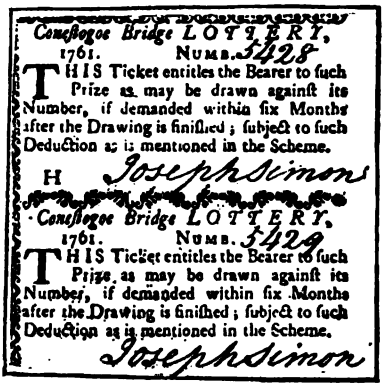
Reference has already been made to an inquiry by the English Board of Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in 1750. On January 27, 1767, Governor Penn replied to that inquiry. He says no public encouragement was ever given in the Province to the establishment of manufactories of any kind. He says a factory for making sail cloth, tickings and linens was set up by a stock company about three years previously, but the projectors sunk money and had given it up. There was another one, he writes, "A glass manufactory, which was erected about four Years ago (that would make the date 1763), in Lancaster County, seventy miles from this City, by a private Person; it is still carried on, tho' to a very inconsiderable Extent, there being no other Vent for their Ware, which is of a very ordinary Quality, but to supply the small demands of the Villagers and Farmers in the adjacent inland country."[12] Governor Penn could certainly not have been well acquainted with the products of Stiegel's glass factory, for some of the wares made there are of superior excellence.

[11]Penna. Statutes at Large, Vol. 6, pp. 449.
[12]Col. Rec., 1st Series, Vol. 9,pp. 353-4.

An Early Lottery.

On August 23, 1769, Council passed "An Act for raising, by way of a Lottery, the sum of £3,543.15.0; one Moiety or half part for erecting a Bridge over Conestoga Creek, where the road crosses the same, leading from Philadelphia to Lancaster; and the other Moiety for paving the Streets of Lancaster. the Distance of the first Squares from the Court House."[12]

There is, I believe, no evidence anywhere, at least I have been unable to discover any, to show that this lottery was ever drawn. We do know the proposed bridge was never built, and we also know that no part of East King street was macadamized until 1800. In all probability the lottery was given up. The accompanying cut


Conestogoe Bridge LOTTERY.
1761. NUMB. 3428
THIS Ticket entitles the Bearer to ſuch Prize as may be drawn againſt its Number, if demanded within ſix Months after the Drawing is finiſhed; ſubject to ſuch Deduction as is mentioned in the Scheme.
H Joſeph Simon
Conestogoe Bridge LOTTERY.
1761. NUMB. 3429
THIS Ticket entitles the Bearer to ſuch Prize as may be drawn againſt its Number, if demanded within ſix Months after the Drawing is finiſhed; ſubject to ſuch Deduction as is mentioned in the Scheme.
Joſeph Simon

was made from specimens of the tickets prepared for the lottery, and now in the possession of President Steinman.

[12]Col. Rec., 1st Series, Vol. 9, p. 621.

Powder and Election Fraud.

An Act passed January 22, 1744, prohibits any and all persons whatsoever from keeping in house, shop, cellar, store or other place within this borough more than 25 pounds of powder at one time, to be kept in the highest story in the house, unless the latter be 50 yards from any dwelling house, under a penalty of ten pounds.[14]

In 1749, James Webb complained to the General Assembly that a person had been elected to that body by fraud. Recourse was had to violence. Many persons voted as often as five and ten times each, so that 2,300 votes were made out of 1,000 voters. The Assembly confirmed the election, but reprimanded the election officers. The repeaters escaped. It appears that in those good old times ballot-box stuffing was as well understood as now.[15]

On March 4, 1763, an act was passed authorizing the borough authorities to erect a house of correction, "for correcting and keeping at hard labor all rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars and idle and disorderly persons."[16]

An Assortment of Laws.

Under an act passed July 8, 1763, every innkeeper keeping an inn or house of entertainment on any public road was compelled to keep sufficient quantities of hay, oats, Indian corn or rye for the uses of the horses and servants employed in the King's service and were obliged to furnish them at the following rates: Three shillings and six pence for 100 pounds of hay; hay for one horse for one night eight pence; for oats, three shillings per bushel; for Indian corn, three shillings

[14]Col. Rec., 1st Series, Vol. 8, p. 364.
[15]Mombert's History, p. 150.
[16]Penna. Stat. at Large, Vol. 6, p. 281.

and six pence per bushel, and the same price for a bushel of rye.[17]

On March 9, 1771, the Assembly declared the "Conestoga as far up as Mathias Slough's mill dam a public stream or highway for purposes of navigation up and down the same," and commissions were appointed for making "the said river navigable." It is safe to say they never did so.[18]

On March 21, 1772, an act was passed authorizing the inspection of all leather, and that no hide of tanned leather should be sold or worked up in the borough of Lancaster or within two miles thereof, unless it had been inspected. Michael Hubley was appointed searcher and sealer to examine every tanned hide offered for sale to see whether it was perfectly tanned, curried and dried.[19]

I find that sewers were being made in 1773-4 in King, Queen and Water streets. It is stated the digging of wells is often difficult and expensive, and that the borough was badly supplied with water in case of fires, and that "some attempts having lately been made with success towards conducting the water from certain springs by pipes into King street, so that a constant stream of spring water is now conveyed in and along Water street in such a manner as to discharge itself into King street." It was also proposed to sink cisterns at various places to collect water for use in case of fires.[20]

Graft Not Unknown.

It seems "graft" and peculation were as common in the eighteenth century as to-day. At least that is the inference

[17]Penna. Stat. at Large, Vol. 6, pp. 295-6.
[18]Penna. Stat. at Large, Vol. 8, p. 37.
[19]Penna. Stat. at Large, Vol. 8, p. 224.
[20]Penna. Stat. at Large, Vol. 8, p. 363.

to be drawn from the tenor of an act passed on March 21, 1773, which reads in part as follows: "Whereas, on full examination and inquiry it appears to the Assembly of this Province that the several and respective persons hereinafter named, late commissioners, assessors and clerks for assessing and levying and keeping the accounts of the provincial and county rates in and for the County of Lancaster, have to the great injury of the public and evil example of others, received and illegally and unjustly detained the several and respective sums of public money following, being part of the provincial and county rates." Then follow the following names of the grafters, with the respective sums that each got away with. They were: John Hay, George Leonard, Samuel Street, William Jones, Henry Walter, John Miller, Christian Hildebrand, John Smith, Michael Grimes, Joshua Anderson, David McPherson, James Wilson, George McCullough, James Gibbons, Casper Core, Isaac Saunders and James Webb, Jr., seventeen in all. Their peculations amounted to from £5 to £87. The County Commissioners were instructed to proceed against them. It was further enacted that eight shillings per diem should be allowed to five men, who were to appear as witnesses against the offenders, for every day they attended the Committee of the Assembly, or were engaged in serving notices or citations.[21] They were Robert Armor, Robert Whitehill, Michael Diffenderffer, Christian Wertz and Bernard Hubley.

A law passed in 1774 provided for the election of supervisors of highways in the borough and assessors.

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[21]Penna. Stat. at Large, Vol. 8, pp 179-80-81-82.

If any man thus elected should refuse to serve, he was to be fined £10.[22]

Protecting Shad Fisheries.

In those days every stream abounded in fish of many kinds. Shad, herring and salmon ran up the Conestoga and its tributaries, Mill Creek, the Little Conestoga, Cocalico and Muddy Creek, supplying the people in the interior part of the county with an abundance of this excellent fish. But when mills came along, dams were built that prevented the ascent of these fishes to their usual spawning grounds. This deprivation was seriously felt because the pioneers salted them down for winter use, so that when Stephen Atkinson built a fulling mill at much expense on the Conestoga, below the city, the dam he was compelled to build kept the fish from ascending that stream. The people on the upper waters came down and tore down his dam. He then put in a 20-foot wide sluiceway so that the fish were once more able to go up the stream.

As early as February 22, 1774, there was legislation to regulate the fishing in the Conestoga river. Then, as now, there were water grabbers, men who erected dams across the stream for mills or other purposes, which prevented the usual run of shad and other fishes toward the headwaters. On the date mentioned a law was passed compelling all persons erecting dams in the river or who had already erected them, below the mouth of Muddy Creek, to make open and leave the space of ten feet in width near the end of the said dam, at least fourteen inches lower than the other part of the stream, as far as the mouth of the

[22]Penna. Stat. at Large, Vol. 8, pp. 350-351.

Cocalico, and from that part to Muddy Creek, a space five feet wide and fourteen inches lower near the end of the dam than any other part thereof, so that there should be at least twelve inches of water during the months of March, April and May in every year. The penalty for non compliance was £100. Seines could be drawn anywhere in the stream except within twenty perches of these fishways.[23]

President Washington's Fisheries.

It is a long step from the banks of the Conestoga to those of the Potomac, but I will make it to show that the Father of his county was in season a dealer in fish as well as in armies and lands and tobacco. In a letter to a friend he writes concerning the Mt. Vernon property: "The river which encompasses the land is well supplied with various kinds of fish at all seasons of the year, and in the spring with the greatest profusion of shad, herring, bass, carp, perch and sturgeon. Several fisheries appertain to the Estate; the whole shore, in fact, is one entire fishery."[24]

From his diary I cull the following extracts: "April 7, 1786, Mr. George (Augustine) Washington went to Alexandria and engaged (sold) 100,000 herring to Smith & Douglass (if caught) at five shillings per thousand."

"April 11, 1786: Rode to the Fishery Landing where 30 odd shad had been caught at a haul; not more than two or three at one time before this."

On April 20, nine days later, same year, he records: "The shad began to run to-day, having caught 100, 200 and 300 at a draught."

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[23]Penna. Stat. at Large, Vol. 8, pp. 386-7.

[24]Arthur Young.

On Sunday, March 23, 1794, he writes from Philadelphia, to his overseer, William Pearce, as follows: "Mr. Smith has, I believe, been furnished with fish from my landing, and if he will give as much as another he ought to have the preference; but before you positively engage enquire what the other fisheries are disposed to sell at. 4 (shillings) per thousand for Herrings and 10 (shillings) per hundred for shad is very low. I am at this moment paying 6d apiece for every shad I buy." If the Virginia pound was the same as that of Pennsylvania, and I infer it was, as he quotes both in his letter, then he was selling his herring at about 54 cents per thousand and his shad at $1.35 per hundred! To-day the dealer gets as much for a single pair as Washington got for one hundred.

Saltpeter Made Here.

During the Revolution all manner of warlike stores were made in Lancaster for the use of the patriot forces. Among the most active men in supplying such was Paul Zantzinger. On May 2, 1776, he advised the Committee of Safety that he and his partner, Mr. Kuhn, had shipped seven cakes of saltpeter, weighing 480 pounds, and made in their own works, to Philadelphia.[27]

On July 16, 1776, the Committee of Safety issued an order on favor of Adam Zantzinger for £163.15 which, with another order on Robert Towers to deliver 200 pounds of gunpowder, was in full payment for 855 pounds of saltpeter manufactured in Lancaster for the use of the committee.[28] Four days later the Committee gave per-

[27]Penna Archives, Vol. 4, pp. 742-3.
[28]Col. Rec., Vol. 5, p. 647.

mission to Brigadier McKinley to purchase 50 rifles in Lancaster.[27]

On November 8, 1776, Col. Curtis Grubb was authorized to impress a sufficient number of teams in this county to transport the cannon he had cast for Congress to the city of Philadelphia.[28]

On November 20 Sheriff William Parr, of Philadelphia, "was directed by the Council to remove all the Records and Public Papers in his Possession to Lancaster."[29]

Council on December 9, 1776, "Resolved that our Treasury and the books of that office be removed to Lancaster, and that a wagon be purchased for that purpose."[30]

Arms, Ammunition and Teams.

On December 11, 1776, the British being every hour expected to seize Philadelphia, John Hubley, a member of the Council, advised Ludwig Lauman, of this place, that he had sent by wagon for the Provincial Council, an iron chest containing several thousand dollars, and a cask of "our most valuable Papers, with another iron Chest belonging to John M. Nesbitt, Esq., which please put into some safe place in your house."[31]

On December 21, ten days later, Mr. Hubley writes from Lancaster to the Council of Safety that Governor Mifflin had arrived here and intended on that day to address the Militia, in order to inspire them to turn out against the enemy. He adds that the soldiers who had already marched to Philadelphia had been badly accommodated by the tavern keepers along the road in the way of provisions and

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[27]Col. Rec., Vol. 5, p. 651.
[28]Col. Rec., Vol. 10, p. 781.
[29]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 23.
[30]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 41.
[31]Penna. Archives, Vol. 5, p. 102.

lodgings. He advised that if they did not mend their ways after being warned, the soldiers should be allowed to kill cattle and keep themselves, after giving receipts for the same to the owners. Thus early in the struggle were there men who held back in their assistance for fear that they would never receive pay for the same.[33]

By an act of the Assembly the burgesses of Lancaster borough were authorized to be justices of the peace for the city and county and to have equal power with the other justices of the peace of the county, without any further commission for that purpose.[34]

Hessians to be Hired Out.

On March 3, 1777, the Council of Safety at Philadelphia wrote to the local Committee that they were informed "the Barracks in your town are rather crowded, and have agreed that such of the Hessian Prisoners as can be usefully employed, may be employed in the manner following: That they be intrusted with such persons in your County as you can confide in, to keep them comfortable and safe, and that they continue subject to your call at any time. We also recommend it to you to be exact in having a return of the names of the persons who employ them, and the names and occupations of the Prisoners you shall inlarge in consequence hereof."[35]

On March 25, same year, the Supreme Executive Council wrote to William Atlee that Mr. Christian Wirtz had informed them that owing to the recent riots in Lancaster, a number of persons had threatened

[33]Penna. Archives, Vol. 5, p. 128.
[34]Penna. Stat. at Large, Vol. , p. 44.
[35]Penna. Archives, Vol. 5, p. 251.

his life. The local committee was instructed to enquire into the matter and grant him such relief as the nature of the case would admit.[35]

On April 5, 1777, John Hubley, who was at that time a member of the Executive Council, wrote a letter to that body stating that inasmuch as he had been commissioned to superintend the erection of a Powder Magazine and other Military Store Houses at Lancaster, his time would be so taken up in that business during the summer that he would be unable to attend to his duties as a member of the Council, and he therefore tendered his resignation.[36]

Wagons Needed for the Army.

On April 6, 1777, the County Committee advertised for proposals for several hundred wagons with four horses and a driver to go to Philadelphia immediately, in order to remove the great quantity of valuable stores in that city, as it was expected the enemy would shortly attempt to take the place, and that prudence required that these supplies should be removed. Thirty shillings per day was offered for this service, the pay to run from the day of leaving their homes until the date of their return. The inconvenience of sparing teams at that season of the year was admitted, but the situation was urgent, and, if the teams could not be had by persuasion, compulsion would be resorted to.

Three days after this advertisement appeared Mr. Atlee replied to Owen Biddle, chairman of the Board of War of Pennsylvania, that seventeen four-horse wagons, with driver to each, had already been sent off, and that

[35]Penna. Archives, Vol. 5, p. 266.
[36]Penna. Archives, Vol. 5, p. 295.

many more could go during the next few days.[87]

On April 14, 1777, the Board of War wrote to the State Board of War as follows: "The Board of War have considered your Letter on the subject of Prisoners of War in this city (Philadelphia) & are of the Opinion the Continental Prisoners of War should be immediately removed to Lancaster. General Schuyler will furnish a guard if a Military Escort cannot be had, tho' the latter will be more eligible, as there are few Continental Troops in the City. You will be pleased to distinguish between such as are confined as Prisoners of War and those charged as Tories or Traitors. This Board have only the direction of the former and desire your assistance in getting them conveyed away."[88]

Trouble With Non-Combatants.

On May 19,1777, Bartram Galbraith, in a letter to President Wharton, speaks of a rumor that the Mennonites would resist the measures of the Council to embody the militia, a report that was fully realized a short time later, as will be seen. A couple of weeks later he again referred to this question and says that as the law requires that if men refuse to march to the seat of war he should find substitutes,he would like to know what he should do as a bounty of ten pounds per month will not procure any.

By June, 1777, Continental currency had depreciated so much that gold was at a great premium. James Lang wrote to the Board of War,from this place, that "a certain Paul Zantzinger had paid £30 for a doubloon

[87]Penna. Archives, Vol. 5, pp. 301-2-3.
[88]Penna. Archives, Vol. 5, pp. 306-7.

($16), and a half joe ($8) was sold at from £15 to £20 and a guinea for $6. He says: "The Mennonists refuse to sell their produce unless for hard cash, & when they bring any market stuff to town will carry it from house to house & sell it very low for hard cash, but will carry it home again sooner than sell it for Congress currency. I am informed this is done every market day."[29]

Resort to Force.

On June 26 John Bayley, a county magistrate, wrote to President Wharton as follows: "The opposition given to the laws by the Dutch, at length hath Broken out into open Rebellion, they had threatened so much and bound themselves to each other, that any constable would not go without a guard of armed men, accordingly on the 25th Instant Colonel Lowrey sent an Officer and six men with the Constable, by order of a Magistrate, to levy for the fines due by one Sam'l Albright, who had got intelligence of their coming, and got together Twelve men and a number of women. Armed with Sithes Coulters & pitch forks the first stroke given struck one of the guard with a coulter, behind his back which split his skull 4 or 5 Inches, the rest of the guard thought they were all in danger of their Lives, were forced to fire on the Rebels, and shot three of the ringleaders, but having no more amunition but what first loaded their Pieces, and some had none at first, was obliged to flee for their Lives till they would get amunition. Yesterday we got Evidence against the twelve that were at the rescue. Likewise 23 more that were in League with them. These three that are Shott are of these Consientious People menoneasts who

[29]Penna. Archives, Vol. 5, pp. 396-7.

Preten non resistance, and Persive (passive) Obediance, and there is about 15 or 20 more of the same sect in the publick Cabal. But I think the greatest part of that sect together with Zealous friends (Quakers), are secretly fomenting the whole."[40]

On the same day Lieutenant Colonel Bartram Galbraith wrote a long account of the same affray to President Wharton. The purpose was to collect some fines which these men had contracted by not being present on muster or battalion day. Colonel Atlee's account agrees in all respects with that of Magistrate Bayly.[41]

So far as I have ever heard or read, the foregoing was the first and only actual resistance to the militia laws that stands against the people of this county. Doubtless the fatal results of that first attempt had much to do in preventing further attempts. At the same time it must be admitted that Lancaster county had many men who inclined to the British cause. Everybody knew it, and a close watch was kept on these people, but, despite every precaution, there was continual communication and intercourse with the enemy.

Hessian Shoemakers Set to Work.

On January 6, 1777, Christian Wirtz was appointed Town Mayor of Lancaster by the Council. On the same day it was resolved: "That the Committee of Lancaster direct a sufficient number of aged or infirm Persons who are unfit to bear the fatigues of the Campaign, to be enrolled under the Town Mayor, for the purpose of guarding the Prisoners in the Barracks, the Amunition and Stores in Lancaster,

[40]Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 5, pp. 405-406.
[41]Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 5, pp. 407-408.

during the absence of the Militia."[42] Five days later, July 11, the Council "Resolved, That John Hubley, Esq., be authorized to employ all the Shoemakers amongst the Hessian prisoners at Lancaster, in making Shoes for this State, for which purpose the sum of two thousand pounds shall be advanced to him or his order, for the purchase of leather and other materials for making them; and he is to pay them a small allowance for their labour, for which Service Mr. Hubley is to have a reasonable compensation."[43]

Bad Conduct of Our Militiamen.

On the same day Mr. Hubley was appointed "Commissary of the Continental Stores in this State at Lancaster, with the Rank and pay of a Major." On the following day it was "Resolved, That John Hubley, Esq., a member of this board, be directed to endeavor to prevail on such of the Militia to return and to assure them that this Council have, and ever will warmly interest themselves in behalf of their Countrymen, the Militia of this State, etc." There had been many desertions from the ranks of the militia. But in the present case a number of the county militia returned to their homes upon receiving hasty orders to march when they were ill supplied with provisions and other necessaries. Two days later the following action was taken by the Council: "Resolved, That the officers of the first battalion of Lancaster county, and the few men who remained with them when they were deserted by the greater part of the Battalion, on the 12th inst., deserve the warmest acknowledgment of this Board for their endeavors to prevail on their

[42]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 76.
[43]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 85.

Countrymen to stay, though these endeavors proved unsuccessful; and that the conduct of those who basely deserted at that time, without applying to this Council, and waiting for redress, if they thought themselves aggrieved, is highly reprehensible."[44]

A few days later many of the Associators of Col. Hunter's Berks county battalion did the same thing. Col. Hunter was directed to collect all his well affected men, seize the ringleaders of this defection and send them under guard to Philadelphia, according to certain resolutions passed a month previously.[45]

Various Matters.

On January 17 it was ordered that Michael Hubley have the rank and pay of Captain, as Barrack Master of Lancaster County.[46]

On June 25, 1777, Town Mayor Wirtz wrote a letter to the Council, in which he represented that the British prisoners confined at Lancaster threatened to destroy the town and that the inhabitants were much alarmed. He advised that the prisoners should be sent elsewhere.[47]

On August 16, 1777, William Augustus Atlee was commissioned the Second Judge of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth.[48]

The first or Chief Justice was Thos. McKean, afterwards Governor of the State, and the third was John Evans, Esq.

On September 15, 1777, Council received information that there was a treasonable design on foot to levy men to destroy the public stores at Lancaster, York and Carlisle, and that John Ferree, of this county, was ac-

[44]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 90.
[45]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 94.
[46]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 93.
[47]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 236.
[48]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 270.

tively concerned, and that Daniel Shelly, of Shelly's Island, in this county, was also implicated and had been arrested, but was willing to give evidence against his accomplices in the conspiracy. Council agreed not to punish him if he made a confession of all the facts.[49] Col. Galbraith was ordered to send 100 county militia immediately to Lancaster.

Artisans Excused From Soldiering.

On October 30, 1777, Col. Grubb notified the Council that his furnace was in blast for the purpose of casting salt pans, but he could not proceed because his manager, founder, carpenter and colliers were absent with the militia. They were ordered to be released forthwith.[50]

On December 5, 1777, on the application of William Henry Gingerich, John Eberly, Christopher Oberholtzer, Henry Mayer, Casper Hallum, Adam Deterer, Michael De Riener and George Radfang were excused from going to camp in case they continued to work for Mr. Henry at making arms. It was also ordered "that John Jordan be appointed Wagon Master of the County of Lancaster, in room of Ferdinand McElvain, and he is authorized and directed to nominate a suitable number of deputies to make out a list of waggons in the said County, & to take order that the Waggons employed from time to time in the public Service perform their duty in their turn, & proceed therein agreeable to such directions as he shall receive from time to time from this Council."[51]

On October 1, 1777, the Council met for the first time in Lancaster. It remained here until the following June,

[49]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, pp. 307-8.
[50]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 335.
[51]Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 380.

its last meeting having been held on June 20, 1778, when, the British having evacuated Philadelphia, it returned to that city and held the first meeting after its return on June 26.

The Council Meets Here and Returns to Philadelphia.

On January 29, 1778, "A Petition of a number of respectable Germans, praying for some assistance in establishing & circulating a German Newspaper being now read & considered; thereupon, ordered that council do take & distribute 500 German Newspapers Weekly, at the same price at which they now pay Mr. John Dunlap for the English Paper and that Mr. Bayley (Francis Bailey), printer of this Borough, be informed thereof."[53]

This German newspaper was called Das Pennsylvanishe Zeitungblat. The first number was issued on Wednesday, February 4, 1778, and the last number on June 24 of the same year.[55]

On June 19, 1778, "Council decided that as it was about removing to Phila. the publishing of a newspaper at the Public expense was of course not absolutely necessary; it was therefore ordered that Mr. Dunlap be informed that the Council decline taking any more of his papers on the public account; & that Mr. Bailey be informed that the Council decline taking any more of his Papers after next week."[54] The name of Mr. Dunlap's newspaper was The News.

Hangings in the Early Days.

There were hangings in those early days as well as in our own times. A negro named York having been con-

[53]Col. Rec., Vol. 12, p. 409.
[55]Seidensticker's First Century of German Printing, p. 101.
[54]Col. Rec., Vol. 12, p. 52.

victed in the local Court, Council directed that he be hung on Saturday, December 15, 1781, between the hours of ten o'clock in the forenoon and two in the afternoon.[55] Col. Slough's negro Cato fared better. He was convicted of larceny and sentenced to pay a fine, but his master presented his case to the Council, which, thereupon, "ordered that the fine adjudged to be paid to the use of the State by the said negro Cato, be remitted."[56]

March 13, 1778.

It was enacted by the General Assembly that all murders, treasons, manslaughter, felonies and offenses, whatsoever, committed in the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester, or that may be committed there, should, after this date, be tried in the Court of Oyer and Terminer and general jail delivery, to be held in the borough of Lancaster, by indictments, inquests and verdicts to be taken of good and lawful men, inhabitants of the said county of Lancaster, in like manner, and form as if the fact or facts had been committed, perpetrated or done in the said county of Lancaster; any law usage or custom to the contrary, notwithstanding. The expense of such Courts were to be paid by the counties in which the crimes were committed.[57]

Public Officials Required to Take Their Pay in Grain.

I believe that very few in this audience, the lawyers included, know that on November 27, 1779, an Act of Assembly was passed by which the payment of fees was made payable to public officials in wheat or in cash. Among those who could be paid in

[55]Col. Rec., Vol. 13, p. 52.
[56]Col. Rec., Vol. 14, p. 109.
[57]Penna. Stat. at Large, Vol. 9, 221.

grain were the Attorney General, the master of the rolls, the Prothonotary of the Superior Court, the Sheriff and Coroner of each county; the Justices of the Peace of the Orphans' Court, and of the Common Pleas of each county; and the Clerks of the General Quarter Sessions, Orphans' Court and Common Pleas of each county; the Register for the Probate of Wills, the Recorder of Deeds, attorneys at law, jurors and witnesses, the constables and the court criers, supervisors of roads, and, in fact, all public officials.[55]

The price of a bushel of good merchantable wheat, weighing at least sixty pounds, was reckoned at ten shillings. Provision was also made for the fluctuations in the price of that grain.

What would our lawyer members present here to-night say if early some morning they were roused out of their slumbers by a client, who informed them that the fee of $100 due for legal advice or for defending a case in Court was at the door, and upon going to receive it, found it consisted of a four-horse wagon load of wheat or two similar loads of corn? If lawyers' charges were the same in those days as now, every lawyer of large practice and reputation would be compelled to equip himself with a big warehouse or two to hold his fees.

[55]Penna. Stat. at Large, Vol. 10, pp. 40-41.

Pennsylvania-German or Pennsylvania-Dutch.

As these two designations are frequently used indiscriminately, and often lead to unpleasant disagreements among those who are related to the people so designated, or interested in their history and literature, it may perhaps be proper to devote a paper to a discussion of the appellation in the Historical Society of a county whose population is so largely composed of persons so designated. The first word in the compound needs no special attention, except to say that its use is, of course, to designate a kind of German or Dutch peculiar to Pennsylvania, that is, a modified, an impure, German or Dutch, due to influences exerted upon the original language in this Commonwealth.

The word German has come down to us in the pages of Julius Caesar, into whose Roman soldiers, the Germans, by their prodigious stature, their invincible courage and great skill and exercise in arms, nay, by their very looks, which for fierceness could not be endured, injected such fear that not only did many find it convenient to discover or invent all kinds of excuses or pretexts for returning to Rome, but those who for very shame remained with the army passed the night in their tents, bewailing their prospective fate, and making and sealing their last wills and testaments, as if about to meet certain death on the morrow.

By the Romans "Germanus was used as the designation of persons belong-

ing to a group of related peoples inhabiting Central and Northern Europe and speaking dialects from which the 'Germanic' or 'Teutonic' languages have been developed. The name does not appear to have been given to these peoples by themselves or to be explicable from Teutonic sources."[1] In this respect the process was similar to that which took place in our own country, where the aborigines were called Indians, not by themselves, but by the Spaniards, because they regarded the lands discovered by themselves as the most eastern coast of India or Asia.

"A view widely held is that it (viz. German) was the name given by the ancient Gauls to their neighbors; the Keltic derivations suggested are from Oir gair, neighbor (Zeuss) and from Irish gairm, battle-cry (Wachter-Grimm). According to Muellenhoff, Germani was originally the name of a group of Keltic peoples in Northeastern Gaul, was transferred from these to their Teutonic conquerors, and afterwards extended to all the Teutonic peoples."[1]

"In English use, the word does not occur until the sixteenth century, the substantive appearing earlier than the adjective. The older designations were Almain and Dutch (Dutchman); the latter, however, was wider in meaning."[1]

"The precise signification (of the adjective German) depends on the varying extension given to the name Germany."[1]

It seems, therefore, that upon the boundary assigned to Germany depends the signification of the adjective, and upon this also the decision of the question whether Pennsylvania-German or Pennsylvania-Dutch is proper

[1]Murray's English Dictionary. (The Oxford English Dictionary.)

and why. Now, Germany's boundaries are a variable quantity. Even in the days of Tacitus they are said (on one side, at least) to consist of mutual fear between them and their neighbors, and this condition of affairs has continued down to this year of grace, 1906. Two recent geographical changes, the one, 1866, contracting, and, 1870-71, expanding, the area of Germany, illustrate the change necessary to be made in the meaning.

Our inquiry may, however, confine itself to the western boundary, and here we are on the firm foundation laid by Tacitus, who names tribes of Germans on the North Sea, as well as all along the Meuse, the Ems, the Weser and the Rhine. It would thus seem to admit of little doubt that the Frisians, the Anglo-Saxons, and the present-day Dutch are one and all Germanic in origin when this word is taken in its most comprehensive historic sense, and that the expression Pennsylvania-German is, therefore, historically and genetically fully justified and vindicated.

"The word Dutch OHG diutisc, OS thiudisc, means popular, vulgar, and is equivalent to 'Hollandisch,' or, in a wider sense, 'Netherlandish' and even 'German'—deutsch.[1] In Germany the adjective was used (in the ninth century) as a rendering of Latin vulgaris, to distinguish the 'vulgar tongue' from the Latin of the church and the learned." The same thing took place here that had taken place when St. Jerome's translation of the Bible into Latin was called the "vulgate," namely the then popular Latin, to adapt it to common use, and when what we now know as common fractions were called "vulgar" fractions, which I remember very well. In the

[1]Murray's English Dictionary. (The Oxford English Dictionary.)

Allemanic dialect there is an expression "ska dutsch," which means it can express itself plainly so as to be easily understood, bluntly, like our expression, "he talked like a Dutch uncle."

Hence it gradually came to be the current denomination of the vernacular, applicable alike to any particular dialect and generically to German as a whole."[2] In this respect it followed a course similar to the Greek "Barbarian" and the German "Welsh," meaning an unknown, a foreign tongue, and, therefore, unintelligible talking is called "Welschen," to jabber, meaning to talk gibberish, and sometimes "kauterwelsch."

"From the language it was naturally extended to those who spoke it (cf. English), and thus grew to be an ethnic or national adjective, whence, also, in the twelfth or thirteenth century, arose the name of the country, Diutishlant, now Deutschland, meaning Germany. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Dutch was used in England in the general sense in which we now use German, and in this sense it included the language and people of the Netherlands as part of the Low Dutch or Low German domain. After the united provinces became an independent State, using the 'Neder-duytsch' or Low German of Holland as the national language, the term Dutch was gradually restricted in England to the Netherlanders, as being the particular division of the Dutch or Germans with whom the English came in contact in the seventeenth century; while in Holland itself duitsch, and in Germany 'deutsch' are in their ordinary use restricted to the language and dialects of the German empire and of adjacent regions exclusive of the Netherlands and Friesland;

[2]The Oxford Dictionary.

though in a wider sense 'deutsch' in-c.udes these also, and may even be used as widely as 'Germanic' or 'Teutonic.' Thus the English use of the word 'Dutch' has diverged from the German and Netherlandish use since 1600 A. D." So far, then, as the historical or ethnical use of the words in question is concerned, we may conclude that either designation is equally allowable, and we shall, therefore, have to look elsewhere for aid in the final determination of the question. In doing so, we must bear in mind that English scholars at Oxford still use the terms Low-Dutch and High-Dutch, where we are disposed to use Low-German and High-German in speaking of these languages, thus including what we call Hollandish and German under the one designation, Dutch. If we examine into the nature of the language called Pennsylvania-German or Dutch as regards pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, and compare it in these respects with the Dutch properly, so-called, that is, with the language spoken in Holland, we shall find that it has very few points of contact with it, far fewer than with the German properly so called, especially with the dialect of it known as the Pfalzisch, namely, the language spoken by the people dwelling in the Palatinate.

Here are two specimen stanzas from "D'r Vetter aus d'r Palz," which show the close similarity, almost identity, of Pennsylvania-German as we know it and heart it, and of the Pfalzisch dialect of High-German:

"No-sag ich—du hockscht alls d'rheem,
Unns's blue schunn, schier alle Baam
Unn kricke Blatter, 's war e Pracht,
's hot alles eem norr angelacht."

In zwee, drei Dag, do wett ich druff,
Sinn schun die Marzeveilcher uff.—
Wass hawwe daun die Kinner do?
Die sinn so wuss'—lig unn so froh!

If, now, we compare this, word for word, with Dutch and German properly so-called, to-day, we find:

Palatine and Penn. German	German.	Dutch.
sag	sag	zeg
ich	ich	ik
du	du	du (?)
d'r heem	da-heim	heim
Unn	und	en
blüe	blühen	bloemen
Schier	schier	schier
alle	alle	allen-al
Bääm	bäume	boom
Blätter	blätter	bladen
's	es	het
war	war	was
e	eine	een-eene
Pracht	Pracht	Pronken
hot	hat	heeft
alles	alles	alles
eem	einem	en
angelacht	angelacht	angelacht

A very interesting word is hockscht, which seems to be related to English hug, meaning to squat, crouch, cower, and to German huredich, related to huche, meaning to cower, also—and Swiss dialect, hocke, meaning to sit, hockedich, meaning take a seat, for which the Pennsylvania German says hock dich anne. Another is kricke, which is found in Low-German and Netherlandisch in the sense of get, obtain, in which sense it is also used in High-German, though rather dialectically.

Minutes of the June Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., June 1, 1906.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met statedly this (Friday) evening, in its room, in the Young Men's Christian Association building, President Steinman occupying the chair.

The call to order was followed by the roll call, the absentees being marked. In consequence of the volume of business on hand for the evening, a motion to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the May meeting was carried, but they were handed around in printed form.

The election of members being in order, Mr. J. M. Frantz, of Wabank, was unanimously elected. The application of Judge Eugene G. Smith was received, and, under the rules, laid over until the next meeting.

The donations to the Society consisted of the following articles: A section of wood from the famous "Witness Tree," at Donegal church, and an Iris Club pamphlet from Mrs. M. N. Robinson; two old newspapers from Mrs. Breneman; one old newspaper from D. B. Landis; a fine photograph of old St. Mary's Catholic Church, from Mrs. Dr. Carpenter; a large batch of old letters, written in this and Dauphin counties seventy-five years ago, contributed by Mr. William A. Kelker, of Harrisburg, and the usual exchanges for May. On motion, the thanks of the Society were extended to all these donors for their contributions.

The first paper of the evening was

entitled "Odds and Ends of Local History," prepared by a member of the Society whose name was not revealed, and read by S. M. Sener, Esq. The paper was largely drawn from the Pennsylvania Statutes at Large, the Colonial Records, Pennsylvania Archives and other sources. It gave numerous details of the early history of the city and county not found in the histories, and, among other things, the fact that Lancaster, prior to the Revolution, was by statute divided into four wards, named, respectively, the King's Ward, the Queen's Ward, the Prince's Ward and the Duke's Ward, a circumstance that seems to have escaped historians hitherto.

The discussion that followed was directed mainly to the question whether some of the British colonies did not select their own Governors for a time, just as the Provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland had done from the beginning.

This paper was followed by another one by Dr. R. K. Buehrle, City Superintendent of Schools, with the title, "Pennsylvania-German or Pennsylvania-Dutch," and had reference to the proper title of the German dialect spoken in Eastern Pennsylvania. The learned author traced the etymological history of the words Dutch and German, and then analyzed a given German sentence, and proved very conclusively that the affinity between the local dialect and the language of Germany was far greater than that between the dialect and the language of the Netherlands.

A vote of thanks was tendered the writers of both the above-mentioned papers.

Unfinished business being in order, S. R. Weaver, Esq., Chairman of the committee to select a place for the

annual outing, reported that three places had been proposed in the committee, Harrisburg, Wild Cat and Reading, an invitation from the Historical Society of Berks county having been received. No selection, however, had been made, but the committee favored Harrisburg. The matter, consequently, came up before the Society itself, and a long discussion followed, participated in by many members, some advocating Reading and others Harrisburg. A vote being taken, the Society by a large majority voted to go to Harrisburg, but acknowledged the kindly invitation of their sister society in Berks.

A communication was also read from the committee having in charge the annual Feast of Roses at Manheim, cordially inviting the members to attend that ceremony. The thanks of the Society were voted for the courtesy.

The attendance at the meeting was the largest of the year so far, and much interest was manifested by all present in the proceedings.

This meeting was the last for the season, there being none held in July and August, but they will be resumed in September.

On motion, the Society adjourned.

Charter of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

Whereas, We, the undersigned, citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, whose names are subscribed to this charter or certificate of incorporation, have associated ourselves together for the purposes and upon the terms and by the name herein stated, under the provisions of an Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled an Act to Provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of Certain Corporations, approved the 29th day of April in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, and the several supplements thereto, We do therefore certify that:

1. The name of the corporation is the "Lancaster County Historical Society."

2. The purposes for which this corporation is formed are to promote the discovery, collection, preservation and publication, of the history, historical records and data of and relating to Lancaster City and County, the collection and preservation of books, newspapers, maps, genealogies, portraits, paintings, relics, engravings, manuscripts, letters, journals and any or all materials which may establish or illustrate such history, the growth and progress of population, wealth, education, agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce in this City and County.

3. The business of the corporation is to be transacted in the City of Lancaster.

4. The corporation shall have per-

petual succession by its corporate name.

5. There is no capital stock, nor are there any shares of stock. The names and residences of the subscribers appear by their signatures hereunto.

6. The corporation is to be managed by an Executive Committee of seventeen, including a President, two Vice Presidents, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, and the names and residences of those who are chosen members for the first year are as follows:

George Steinman, President, Lancaster, Pa.
Samuel Evans, Vice President, Columbia, Pa.
Rev. Dr. J. H. Dubbs, Vice President, Lancaster, Pa.
F. R. Diffenderffer, Secretary, Lancaster, Pa.
S. M. Sener, Librarian, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Martha B. Clark, Corresponding Secretary, Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. J. W. Houston, Treasurer, Lancaster, Pa.
W. U. Hensel, Chairman, Lancaster, Pa.
R. M. Reilly, member, Lancaster, Pa.
G. F. K. Erisman, member, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. S. B. Carpenter, member, Lancaster, Pa.
Rev. J. W. Hassler, member, Lancaster, Pa.
Monroe B. Hirsh, member, Lancaster, Pa.
Rev. D. W. Gerhard, member, Lancaster, Pa.
W. A. Heitshu, member, Lancaster, Pa.
S. P. Eby, member, Lancaster, Pa.
H. E. Steinmetz, member, Lititz, Pa.

7. The corporation has no capital stock. Fees for membership and annual dues from members will be assessed as the corporation by its by-laws may determine, which fees and

dues will be applied to promoting the purposes for which the corporation is formed.

Witness our hands and seal, this 12th day of June, A. D. 1901.

[Seal.] GEORGE STEINMAN,
[Seal.] F. R. DIFFENDERFFER,
[Seal.] J. W. HOUSTON,
[Seal.] S. M. SENER,
[Seal.] W. U. HENSEL.

State of Pennsylvania, County of Lancaster, ss.:

Before me, the Recorder of Deeds, in and for the county aforesaid, personally came George Steinman, F. R. Diffenderffer, J. W. Houston, S. M. Sener and W. U. Hensel, who, in due form of law acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be their act and deed for the purposes herein specified.

Witness my hand and seal of office this 12th day of June, A. D. 1901.

B. S. McLANE,
Deputy Recorder.

[Official Seal.]

State of Pennsylvania, County of Lancaster, ss.:

Personally appeared before me this 12th day of June, A. D. 1901, George Steinman, W. U. Hensel, F. R. Diffenderffer, S. M. Sener and J. W. Houston, who, being duly sworn according to law, depose and say that the statements contained in the foregoing instrument are true.

GEORGE STEINMAN,
W. U. HENSEL,
F. R. DIFFENDERFFER,
S. M. SENER,
J. W. HOUSTON.

Sworn and subscribed before me this day and year aforesaid.

B .S. McLANE,
Deputy Recorder.

Decree.

State of Pennsylvania, County of Lancaster, ss.:

And now, June 17th, A. D. 1901, the foregoing Certificate of Incorporation having been duly acknowledged before the Recorder of Deeds of Lancaster county, and the same duly certified under the hand and official seal of the said Recorder of Deeds, and having been duly presented to me, the undersigned, a Law Judge of the said county, accompanied by a proof of the publication of the notice of such application, I certify that I have perused and examined said instrument, and that I find the same in proper form and within the purposes named in the first class specified in the second section of the Act of Assembly approved the twenty-ninth day of April, 1874, entitled "An Act to Provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of Certain Corporations," and that the same appears lawful and not injurious to the community. It is therefore ordered and decreed that the said charter be and the same is hereby approved, and, upon the recording of said charter and order, the subscribers thereto and their associates shall be a corporation by the name of "Lancaster County Historical Society" for the purposes and upon the terms therein stated.

J. B. LIVINGSTON, P. J.

[Official Seal.]

Attest: John Grosh, Prothonotary.

Certificate of Record.

Lancaster County, ss.:

Recorded in the Office for Recording of Deeds, etc., in and for the city and county of Lancaster, in Charter Book, No. 2, page 180, etc. Witness my hand

and seal of office this 20th day of June, A. D. 1901.

CHAS. B. KELLER,
Recorder.

[Official Seal.]

An Act to encourage county historical societies.

Section 1. Be it enacted, &c., That from and after the passage of this Act the Commissioners' Board of the respective counties of this Commonwealth may, in its discretion, pay out of the county funds not otherwise appropriated, and upon proper voucher being given, a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars annually, to the historical society of said county, to assist in paying the running expenses thereof.

Section 2. In order to entitle the said historical society to the said appropriation, the following conditions shall have been first complied with: The money shall be paid to the oldest society in each county, if there be more than one; it shall have been organized at least three years; incorporated by the proper authority, and have an active membership of one hundred persons, each of whom shall have paid into the treasury of said society a membership fee of at least two dollars for the support of the same: And provided further, That no appropriation under this Act shall be renewed until vouchers shall be first filed with the Board of County Commissioners, showink that the appropriation for the prior year shall have been expended for the purpose designated by this Act.

Section 3. And be it further enacted, that to entitle said society to receive said appropriation it shall hold at least two public meetings yearly, whereat papers shall be read or dis-

cussions held on historic subjects; that it shall have established a museum, wherein shall be deposited curios and other objects of interest relating to the history of county or State, and shall have adopted a constitution and code of by-laws, and elected proper officers to conduct its business.

Approved the 21st day of May, A. D. 1901.

WILLIAM A. STONE.

The foregoing is a true and correct copy of the Act of the General Assembly No. 182.

W. W. GRIEST,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Constitution of the Society.

Article I. Name.

The name of the Society shall be the Lancaster County Historical Society.

Article II. Object.

Its object shall be the discovery, collection, preservation and publication of the history, historical records and data of and relating to Lancaster city and county; the collection and preservation of books, newspapers, maps, genealogies, portraits, paintings, relics, engravings, manuscripts, letters, journals and any and all materials which may establish or illustrate such history; the growth and progress of population, wealth, education, agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce in said city and county.

Article III. Membership.

The classification of membership in this Society shall be provided for by its by-laws, and such by-laws shall also provide as to the qualifications of members.

Article IV. Officers.

The officers of the Society shall consist of a President, two Vice Presidents, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian. These, with ten members chosen from the Socety, shall compose the Executive Committee.

Article V. By-Laws.

The by-laws of the Society, when desirable, may be altered, changed or amended by the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Society.

BY-LAWS.

Article I. Members and Membership.

Section 1. The Society shall consist of active, honorary and life members.

Section 2. Any reputable person in sympathy with the work and the aims of the Society shall be eligible to active membership. An admission fee of one dollar ($1.00) shall be paid by each when elected, and an annual fee of one dollar ($1.00) payable on January 1st of each year and annually thereafter.

Section 3. Any person distinguished in historical investigation or who has conferred benefit on the Society shall be eligible to honorary membership. From this class of membership no dues shall be required and to such the publications of the Society shall be given.

Section 4. Any active member may become a life member upon payment of the sum of $25.00 into the treasury at one time. Life members shall be exempt from all dues and be entitled to receive the publications of the Society, and enjoy all privileges of active members.

Section 5. All members shall be elected by the Society at its stated

meetings. Persons may be proposed for membership at any regular meeting by any member, in writing, and such persons may be elected by a majority vote of those present at the next regular meeting.

Section 6. Members whose dues remain unpaid for two years may be dropped from the rolls. Anyone resigning shall notify the Secretary.

Article II. Officers and Their Duties.

Section 1. The officers of the Society shall consist of a President, two Vice Presidents, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian and ten additional members of the Society who shall comprise an Executive Committee of seventeen, charged with the government of the society. They shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting of the Society on the first Friday after New Year in each year, and shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors are elected. The officers shall be nominated at the December meeting in each year.

Section 2. The President and Vice President shall perform the duties usual to such offices.

Section 3. The Recording Secretary shall keep an accurate record of the proceedings of the meetings of the Society in a book kept for that purpose, and shall perform such other duties as usually belong to the office of Secretary.

Section 4. The Corresponding Secretary shall send out all notices of dues and notifications of meetings.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall have charge of all moneys and securities of the Society and shall give such bond as the management may direct. He shall disburse money only upon written warrants duly authorized by the Society and certified by the President.

He shall present at the annual meeting in January each year a statement of the receipts and expenditures during the year, with a full report of the financial condition of the Society, which statement shall be audited by a committee of three members of the Society to be appointed by the President.

Section 4. The Librarian shall have charge of the library, archives and collections of the Society, and the arrangement for preservation of the same in good condition. He shall keep a catalogue of the books, manuscripts and collections of the Society with a record of the names of the donors of such articles as may be presented, and shall submit to the Society at its annual meeting in January a report of the condition of the library, with suggestions for its improvement.

Section 7. The Executive Committee shall be vested with the general management of the business of the Society. It shall arrange and digest the historical material collected from month to month and present the results of its labor to the Society at its monthly meetings, besides making all the necessary arrangements to insure the interest and usefulness of said meetings.

Article III. Meetings.

Section 1. The regular meetings of the Society shall be held on the first Friday of each month and the annual meeting on the first Friday after New Year, at such time and place as may be determined by the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once a month to consider and prepare a programme for the regular monthly meeting.

Section 3. Adjourned or special meetings may be held at any time or

place that may be designated by the President at the request of nine members of the Society.

Article IV. Vacancies.

Any vacancies occurring in the Board of Officers or Executive Committee during the year shall be filled by election at the next monthly meeting after the vacancies occur.

Article V. Quorum.

Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee and nine a quorum of the Society to transact business at the monthly, special or annual meeting.

Article VI. Order of Business.

The order of business at the stated meetings of the Society shall be as follows:

1. Reading of the minutes.
2. Reports of officers.
3. Nomination of members.
4. Election of members.
5. Unfinished business.
6. New business.
7. Presentation of historical papers and discussion thereon.
8. Adjournment.

At the annual meeting the election of officers shall occur immediately after the election of members.

Article VII. Amendments.

Amendments to the by-laws shall be submitted in writing at a stated meeting and shall lie over until the next or a subsequent stated meeting, when they may be adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members present.

Officers of the Society.

1906.

President:

GEORGE STEINMAN.

Vice Presidents:

SAMUEL EVANS, ESQ.,

JOSEPH HENRY DUBBS, LL.D.

Secretary:

FRANK RIED DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D.

Librarian:

SAMUEL M. SENER, ESQ.

Treasurer:

J. W. HOUSTON, M.D.

Corresponding Secretary:

MISS MARTHA B. CLARK.

Executive Committee:

A. K. Hostetter, G. F. K. Erisman, Monroe B. Hirsh D. B. Landis, R. M. Reilly, Mrs. Sara B. Carpenter, Dr. John S. Stahr, Charles Steigerwalt, Mrs. DuBois Rohrer and P. A. Metzgar.

List of Members.

Mrs. Milton Alexander, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. William B. Altick, Lancaster, Pa.
Wm. N. Appel, Lancaster, Pa.
Benjamin C. Atlee, Lancaster, Pa.
John H. Baumgardner, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. Henry Baumgardner, Lancaster, Pa.
D. H. Bausman, Bausman, Pa.
J. W. B. Bausman, Lancaster, Pa.
Samuel D. Bausman, Lancaster, Pa.
Elmer E. Billingfelt, Adamstown, Lancaster County, Pa.
Mrs. Arthur Boardman, Lancaster, Pa.
Mr. Harris Boardman, Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. R. M. Bolenius, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. Annie R. Bosworth, 968 East Orange Street, Lancaster, Pa.
John A. Boyle, Lancaster, Pa.
Rev. W. R. Breed, Lancaster, Pa.
Franklin H. Breneman, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. Louisa A. Breneman, North Lime Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Alfred C. Bruner, Columbia, Pa.
Dr. R. K. Buehrle, Lancaster, Pa.
A. E. Burkholder, Esq., Lancaster, Pa.
J. C. Burkholder, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. Sarah B. Carpenter, Lancaster,Pa.
Dr. M. L. Chadman, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Martha B. Clark, Lancaster, Pa.
Thomas B. Cochran, Lancaster, Pa.
John A. Coyle, Lancaster, Pa.
Rev. W. Stuart Cramer, Lancaster, Pa.
Prof. J. Darmstaetter, 136 East Vine Street, Lancaster, Pa.
I. J. Dengler, Lancaster, Pa.
J. Watts De Peyster, Tivoli, N. Y.
Dr. T. C. Detwiler, Lancaster, Pa.
F. R. Diffenderffer, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Eliza Diller, 318 East Chestnut Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. J. H. Dubbs, Lancaster, Pa.
Simon P. Eby, Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. Thomas Ellmaker, Lancaster, Pa.
H. Frank Eshleman, Lancaster, Pa.
John B. Eshleman, Columbia, Pa.
G. F. K. Erisman, Lancaster, Pa.

Samuel Evans, Columbia, Pa.
C. A. Fon Dersmith, Lancaster, Pa.
Wm. O. Frailey, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. George M. Franklin, Lancaster, Pa.
Walter M. Franklin, Esq., Lancaster, Pa.
Jacob M. Frantz, Lancaster, Pa.
John H. Fry, Esq., Lancaster, Pa.
Rev. Frederick Gardiner, Yeates Institute, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Elizabeth B. Gara, Lancaster, Pa.
M. T. Garvin, Lancaster, Pa.
Rev. D. W. Gerhard, Lancaster, Pa.
H. W. Gibson, 167 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.
Wm. B. Given, Columbia, Pa.
Miss Mary Goodell, Lancaster, Pa.
Wm. K. Graff, 1795 North Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn.
Mr. Jesse P. Gram, 59 Cedar Street, New York City, N. Y.
Miss Daisy E. B. Grubb, Lancaster, Pa
C. F. Hager, Lancaster, Pa.
Horace L. Haldeman, Chickies, Pa.
Herbert W. Hartman, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Anna M. Haus, Lancaster, Pa.
D. C. Haverstick, Lancaster, Pa.
Edwin Horace Hayden, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Hon. Milton Heidelbaugh, Lancaster, Pa.
Prof. T. G. Helm, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Harriet Heitshu, Lancaster, Pa.
Hon. W. U. Hensel, Lancaster, Pa.
Allan A. Herr, Lancaster, Pa.
L. B. Herr, Lancaster, Pa.
Theodore W. Herr, Denver, Colo.
John H. Hertzler, Lancaster, Pa.
J. H. Hibshman, Ephrata, Pa.
Prof. A. V. Hiester, Lancaster, Pa.
Monroe B. Hirsh, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Hannah Holbrook, Lancaster, Pa.
A. F. Hostetter, Lancaster, Pa.
A. K. Hostetter, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. A. K. Hostetter, Lancaster, Pa.
J. W. Houston, M.D., Lancaster, Pa.
R. J. Houston, Lancaster, Pa.

Mrs. John E. Hubley, 140 East Clay Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. A. V. Hurst, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. Anna Irvin, Lancaster, Pa.
J. Chester Jackson, Lancaster, Pa.
Wm. H. Keller, Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. J. L. Kellog, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Catharine Kelly, Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. J. B. Kieffer, Lancaster, Pa.
Lewis J. Kirk, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Martha L. Kline, Lancaster, Pa.
Prof. L. Oscar Kuhns, Middletown, Conn.
Hon. Charles I. Landis, Lancaster, Pa.
D. B. Landis (printer), 38 East Chestnut Street, Lancaster, Pa.
David H. Landis, Windom, Pa.
Mrs. James D. Landis, Lancaster, Pa.
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Dr. E. O. Lyte, Millersville, Pa.
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P. A. Metzger, Lancaster, Pa.
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J. Ewing Mifflin, Arbutus, Md.
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Miss Ella Musser, Lancaster, Pa.
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Mrs. John H. Myers, Lancaster, Pa.
Hon. Amos H. Mylin, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. Amos H. Mylin, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Alice Nevin, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Blanche Nevin, Churchtown, Lancaster County, Pa.
Mrs. J. B. Oblinger, Lancaster, Pa.
Gov. S. W. Pennypacker, Schwenksville, Pa.

Samuel H. Ranck, Grand Rapids, Mich.
H. L. Raub, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Ida M. Ream, Lancaster, Pa.
R. M. Reilly, Esq., Lancaster, Pa.
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Mrs. George N. Reynolds, Lancaster, Pa.
William Riddle, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. M. N. Robinson, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. DuBois Rohrer, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Mary Ross, Lancaster, Pa.
Julius F. Sachse, Esq., No. 4428 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dr. N. C. Schaeffer, Lancaster, Pa.
J. W. Schaeffer, Sterling, Ill.
Mrs. Mary V. Scheetz, Lancaster, Pa.
F. E. Schnerer, Brickerville, Pa.
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James Shand, Lancaster, Pa.
M. S. Shuman, Columbia, Pa.
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P. Eckert Slaymaker, Lancaster, Pa.
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George Steinman, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss M. E. Steinman, Lancaster, Pa.
H. E. Steinmetz, Ephrata, Pa.
Mrs. J. L. Steinmetz, North Duke Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. W. J. Steward, County Hospital, Lancaster, Pa.
C. H. Tucker, Lancaster, Pa.
Mrs. Leon Von Ossko, Lancaster, Pa.
P. T. Watt, Lancaster, Pa.
Henry M. Weaver, Mansfield, Ohio.
S. R. Weaver, Esq., Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. Walter Baer Weidler, Lancaster, Pa.
E. Boyd Weitzel, Ridley Park, Pa.

G. Howard Werntz, Pasadena, Cal.
Mrs. J. H. Wickersham, Lancaster, Pa.
H. S. Williamson, Lancaster, Pa.
George B. Willson, Lancaster, Pa.
J. R. Windolph, Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. B. Frank Witmer, Lancaster, Pa.
Col. Samuel Wright, Columbia, Pa.
Thomas C. Wright, Millersville, Pa.
W. J. Zeigler, Lancaster, Pa.

Honorary Members.

Hon. S. W. Pennypacker, Schwenksville, Pa.
Miss Mary Ross, Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. J. Watts Depeyster, Tivoli, N. Y.

List of Exchanges.

American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

American Jewish Historical Society, No. 531 West 123rd Street, New York City, N. Y.

American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

Berks County Historical Society, Reading, Pa.

Carnegie Library, Pittsburg, Pa.

Columbia University Library, New York City.

Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.

Dauphin County Historical Society, Harrisburg, Pa.

Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore, Md.

F. and M. College Library, Lancaster, Pa.

Hamilton Library, Carlisle, Pa.

Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmingon. Del.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.

Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

Lebanon County Historical Society, care S. P. Heilman, Heilmandale, Lebanon County, Pa.

Library of Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

M. I. J. Griffin, Editor American Catholic Hist. Researches, No. 711 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

M. D. Learned, Editor Americana Germanica, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

New York Public Library, New York City.

Ryerson Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Schuylkill County Historical Society, Pottsville, Pa.

State Library, Albany, N. Y.

State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin, care of R. G. Thwaite, Madison, Wis.
The Pennsylvania German, Allentown, Pa.
York County Historical Society, York, Pa.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THADDEUS STEVENS AS A COUNTRY LAWYER.

By Hon. W. U. Hensel.

EXTRA NUMBER.

VOL. X. NO. 7.

LANCASTER, PA.
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1906.

Thaddeus Stevens as a Country Lawyer, - - - - 247
By Hon. W. U. Hensel.

Mr. Stevens at the age of 38. From the Eicholtz Portrait. Engraved by Sartain.

THADDEUS STEVENS

AS A COUNTRY LAWYER[1]

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen of the Pennsylvania State Bar Association:

I come neither to "bury Caesar" nor to praise him." I shall not ask you to follow this man's career in the field where he achieved his real eminence, much less permit you to exact from me approval of or encomium upon his work as a statesman and publicist, however much it may have been shaped or influenced by his education, his experience or his character as a lawyer. I shall content myself with a brief sketch of his career as a practitioner for two score years at the "country bar," and I reserve, with your consent, the privilege to somewhat enlarge this paper in the publication of your proceedings.

His life stretched from the days when the skies were reddened by the first torches of the French Revolution to the time when the embers of the great American Civil War were cooling into ashes. Thaddeus Stevens was born in the first term of George Washington's administration, and he died in the last year of Andrew Johnson's. His experience was not exceptionally extended, but it was stormy. While it lasted most of the history of American jurisprudence was written, but he did not enrich it with any material contribution. In the great vol-

[1]Address before the Pennsylvania State Bar Association, at Bedford Springs, Pa., by W. U. Hensel, June 27, 1906.

ume which the Marshalls and Websters, and our own Gibson and Tilghman, Binney and Sergeant, and a thousand other leaders of the profession have written, no page is his; nor shall I make bold to hang his portrait in the gallery of great American lawyers.

But the fact that he was a Pennsylvanian of first rank, and that before he entered the field of national politics, and long before he became the parliamentary leader of a triumphant party, he had rapidly risen to front place as a trial lawyer, and the observation that so little of his work is recorded in the permanent annals of bench and bar, make sufficient apology for a brief recognition by an association one of whose most agreeable and useful purposes is to prepare and perpetuate the history and biography of our profession in Pennsylvania.

His struggle—or, rather, that of his widowed mother, for her lame boy, the youngest and favorite—to get an education, his escapades at Burlington and graduation from Dartmouth, his choice of the law and beginning the study of it under Judge Mattocks in his native State; his unexplained venture from Peacham, Vermont, to York, Pennsylvania; his engagement there as a teacher in an academy of which Queen Anne was a patroness (and where young Stevens prepared for college the maternal grandfather of Associate Justice J. Hay Brown); how, outside of any law school, or even of any lawyer's office, he pursued his studies diligently under David Casset, one of the leaders of the local bar, are all matters of familiar history.

His admission was characteristic of the practice of his time. It may have been 'infra dig." in the York of that day to combine the study of a learned

profession with self-support as a school teacher; his alien Yankee ways or caustic tongue may have won him personal enemies. Whatever prevented his application for admission there, it is certain he rode horseback to Bel Air, the seat of the adjoining county of Harford, in Maryland, and presented himself, an entire stranger, on Monday, August 26, 1816, for membership at a bar, where, if the gate did not stand open, its latch was loose. The Judges sitting were Theodoric Bland and Zebulon Hollingsworth. They, together with Joseph Hopper Nicholson, Chief Judge, constituted the Judges of the Sixth Judicial District, comprising the counties of Baltimore and Harford.

A committee of examination seems to have been appointed, and one of the members on it was General Wm. H. Winder, a noted lawyer, who had been a distinguished Maryland soldier in the late war with Great Britain, in command of the District of Virginia, Maryland and the District of Columbia.[2] It is also related that Judge

[2]In Scarff's History of Maryland I find the following reference to Brigadier General W. H. Winder:

"When in 1814 the President secured information from our Minister in Europe that a number of transports were being fitted out in England for the purpose of taking on board the most effective of Wellington's veteran regiments and conveying them to the United States, the President and Cabinet judged it expedient to create a new military district, to be composed of parts of Virginia, District of Columbia and Maryland. The officer selected to command the new district was Brigadier General Wm. H. Winder, lately exchanged and returned from Canada, where he had been kept a prisoner after his unlucky capture at the battle of Stony Creek, in June, 1813. He immediately accepted the command, without means and without time to create them; he found the district without magazines of provision or forage; without transport, tools or implements, without comissariat or quartermaster's department, and with-

Chase, of later impeachment fame, participated in the examination, which was held after supper at the hotel; and a pre-requisite of the proceedings was an order (by the applicant) of two bottles of Madeira, which satisfactorily passed the committee's test. Then after young Stevens' assurance that he had read Blackstone, Coke upon Littleton, a work on pleading and Gilbert on Evidence, and that he knew the distinction between a contingent remainder and an executory devise—and the production of two more bottles of Madeira—his certificate was signed—a much more expeditious, and, perhaps, more agreeable method of testing professional fitness than the methods prescribed and pursued nowadays by the State Board of Law Examiners.

The "subsequent proceedings interested" a large concourse of persons attending Court, and in "the game that ensued" of "flp-loo," to which Stevens was then something of a stranger, he lost nearly all of the fifty dollars he had brought with him.

The minute of the Court next day thus records his admission:

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out a general staff, and without troops. A requisition was made by the President for 93,500 men. Maryland was required to furnish 6,000 and when the State was invaded or menaced with invasion, then and not sooner, Winder was authorized to call for a part of the quota assigned to Maryland. Winder came to Baltimore and immediately proceeded to examine the condition of the district to which he had been assigned." Then follows a list of the places visited and the dates thereof, and also: "Though the flotilla was in flames and Winder retreating, Ross still doubted whether to proceed and attempt the capture of Washington."

General Winder was in active practice in Maryland both before and after the time Mr. Stevens was admitted to the Bar. He was frequently in Court at Bel Air, as most of the removed cases from Baltimore were tried in that Court.

"Upon the application of Stevenson Archer, Esq., for the admission of Thaddius Stevens, Esq., as an attorney of this court, the said Thaddius Stevens is admitted as an attorney of this court and thereupon takes and signs the several oaths prescribed by law, and repeats and signs a declaration of his belief in the Christian religion."

That Stevenson Archer became Chief Judge of that same Circuit in 1823, and was subseqently Chief Justice of Maryland, and died in 1848. He had a son of the same name, who was elected to Congress in the fall of 1866, and took his seat on the 4th of March, 1867. When he was sworn into the House of Representatives,Mr. Stevens, who was then a member, came over and shook hands with him, and told him he was attracted by his name and wanted to know if he was a son of Judge Archer, of Maryland, on whose motion Stevens had been admitted to practice at Bel Air. Finding that he was, Mr. Stevens then indulged in some reminiscences connected with his admission to the bar and substantially confirmed this account of it.

The day after he had qualified as a lawyer in Maryland, Mr. Stevens rode from Bel Air to Lancaster, scarcely escaping drowning while crossing the Susquehanna river at McCall's Ferry; took a hasty look at the town, and (for some unaccountable reason) quit it for Gettysburg, where he started upon a career as a lawyer, without friends, fame, family or fortune.

Begins Practice in Adams County.

Tradition, based, however, most likely upon his own personal narration, has it that, just when he had begun to despair of success, fortuitous employment to defend a notorious

murderer brought him a large fee and great reputation, followed by many retainers. Confidence in the entire accuracy of all the details of the incident is disturbed by the reflection that a $1,500 fee in Adams county, at that time, paid to a yet obscure local lawyer, by a murderer, whose case never reached the Appellate Court,and who was himself hanged, seems somewhat improbable. Certain it is, however, that Mr. Stevens, to his death, protested the mental irresponsibility of his client and acknowledged this case to have been the beginning of his professional fame and the basis of his fortune. Thenceforth he leaped to the front of the local bar and to fame. In all the courts of his county, especially in the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, he became engaged in the very miscellaneous practice which crowds the desk and throngs the office of a busy and successful country lawyer. From 1821 (7 S. & R.) to 1830 (2 Rawle), he seems to have appeared in every case in the Supreme Court from Adams county. Compared with the modern volume of business and reports, or the multitude and variety of cases from populous counties, this record is not, in itself, a very extensive one; but the fact that, out of the first ten appeals in which he appeared, he was successful in nine—six times, as plaintiff in error, reversing the court below —may help to account for his sudden rise to eminence and his lucrative returns in fees.

The first reported case in which Stevens seems to have appeared in the Supreme Court was Butler et al. vs. Delaplaine (7 S. & R., 378), heard at Chambersburg, where the Court then sat, Tilghman being Chief Justice, Gibson and Duncan the Justices. Oddly enough, he appeared against a colored

woman claiming freedom for herself, her husband and two children. The Adams County Court, on a writ of homine replegiando, submitted the case to determination by a jury, who, duly charged, found a verdict against the slaves under the following circumstances:

"Charity Butler was admitted to be the slave of Norman Bruce, an inhabitant of the State of Maryland, and still to continue a slave, unless she obtained her freedom by the laws of this State; and if she were free, her children after her emancipation were likewise free. Norman Bruce, in 1782, was the owner of a tract of land in Maryland, stocked with a number of slaves, and demised it, with the slaves to cultivate it, to one Cleland, and removed to a place seventy miles distant in the same State. Shortly after the lease, Cleland entered into a contract with one Gilleland, respecting Charity. Gilleland, for her services, was to feed and clothe her, until her arrival at sixteen years of age. Gilleland was an inhabitant of Maryland. A separation took place between Gilleland and his wife, and Mrs. Gilleland, being left destitute, was obliged to support herself and an infant child. She quitted housekeeping, and went to reside with her mother in the house of Mrs. Patterson, who lived in Maryland, near the line between that State and Pennsylvania, taking Charity with her. She was a seamstress, and occasionally went into Pennsylvania to work, taking the child and Charity with her to nurse it. She returned, at intervals, to her mother's in Maryland, which continued her domicile. Whether she ever remained with Charity, at any one time, for six months, was a fact left to the jury. She returned Charity to Norman Bruce, when she arrived at

the age of eleven years. Mrs. Gilleland never was an inhabitant of this State, and never came into it, with an intention of residing."

Under the Abolition Act of 1780, and its supplement of 1788, a residence in Pennsylvania, for six months, with the consent of the owner, would have entitled Charity to her freedom, and her children born after such residence would follow their mother's condition; but if she were a slave by being born in Maryland they were slaves also. Mr. Stevens successfully contended that a lease of land to cultivate it gave the lessee no right to carry away any of the slaves out of the State, and that, as to the continued residence for six months, a slave, who happened to come with his master into Pennsylvania on different visits, which may, on adding up the time of their duration, exceed six months, could not, therefore, claim freedom. Upon this latter phase of the contention, it is not without local and timely interest at this particular meeting to quote the language of Mr. Justice Duncan in delivering the opinion of the Court:

"It was well known to the framers of our Acts for the abolition of slavery that Southern gentlemen, with their families, were in the habit of visiting this State, attended with their domestic slaves, either for pleasure, health or business; year after year, passing the summer months with us, their continuance scarcely ever amounting to six months. If these successive sojournings were to be summed up, it would amount to a prohibition—a denial of the rights of hospitality. The York and Bedford Springs are watering places frequented principally, and in great numbers, by families from Maryland and Virginia, attended by their domestic slaves. The same fam-

ilies, with the same servants, return in each season. The construction contended for by the plaintiffs in error would be an exclusion of the citizens of our sister States from these fountains of health, unwarranted by any principle of humanity or policy, or the spirit and letter of the law."

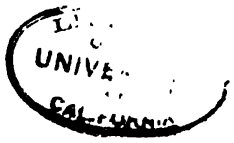
In his Congressional reminiscences of Mr. Stevens, the late Godlove S. Orth, of Indiana, who was a native of Pennsylvania and spent his boyhood in this State, narrates the following incident of Mr. Stevens' early career at the Bar. It has been told elsewhere in somewhat different form and may be in the main accurate, though no relator seems to have altogether verified it:

"On one occasion, while journeying to Baltimore for the purpose of replenishing his law library, he stopped for the night at a hotel in Maryland, kept by a man with whom he was well acquainted. Soon after his arrival he discovered quite a commotion among the servants at the hotel, and a woman in tears approached him and implored his assistance to prevent the contemplated sale of her husband, who was a slave. On inquiring who and where her husband was, she replied, 'Why, Massa Stevens, he is the boy who took your horse to the stable.' Stevens knew the 'boy,' and at once went to his owner and expostulated with him in reference to his sale, and at length offered to pay him $150, half the price, if he would restore him to liberty. The landlord was inexorable, and Stevens, knowing the relations between the slave and his master, replied, 'Mr. ————, are you not ashamed to sell your own flesh and blood?' This stinging appeal only brought forth the response, 'I must

have money, and John is cheap at $300.' Prompted by his generous nature, Stevens purchased and manumitted 'John,' and then retraced his steps to Gettysburg, without completing his journey to Baltimore. At that time $300 was a large sum of money for one who had been but a few years at the Bar, and he postponed the replenishing of his law library to a more convenient season."

Incursions Into Politics.

Throughout the first period of his professional career, and while he was laying the foundation of a large practice, he wisely abstained from activity in party politics, though he was a pronounced Federalist. Like many successful lawyers in counties where the so-called Pennsylvania-German is a large and important element,he gained and kept the confidence of a people with whom he seemed to have nothing in common. During the next decade, and before his removal to Lancaster, his professional work was frequently and materially interrupted by bold and aggressive incursions into the fields of political strife, by intense advocacy of anti-Masonry, radical membership of the General Assembly and the Constitutional Convention of 1837, and on the Board of Canal Commissioners, by his heroic, eloquent and effective defense of the common school system and its executive patron, who was his dire party foe, and by his inglorious, if not ludicrous, figure in the bloodless "Buckshot War." But his prominence in politics and in official life added to, rather than detracted from, his success and eminence at the Bar. He continued, as an adviser of clients and trier of causes, to gather practice and reap fortune, and he was tempted to en-



gage largely, and (as often happens to the business ventures of brilliant lawyers) disastrously in manufacturing enterprises and real estate investments.

From 1830 to 1840 he continued to be engaged on one side or the other of all important litigation in Adams county, and was often called into neighboring Courts. The reports of the period tell of his activity and the wide range of his practice; though it was restricted to a rather narrow locality, it partook of great variety. The meagre reports of the arguments of counsel and the few citations of authorities by no means detract from the strength or strenuousness of those earlier contentions; and it is easy to conceive that ejectments for "one hundred and fifty acres of land, with grist mill, saw mill, oil mill and plaster mill erected on it" (Roth vs. McClelland, 6 Watts, 68); questions of "an estate tail in the first taker, or an estate in fee with an executory devise over" (Eichelberger vs. Barnitz, 9 Watts, 447); and the disputed freedom or servitude of the son of a manumitted female slave (Scott vs. Traugh, 15 Sergeant & Rawle, 17), were just as warmly contested and as learnedly disposed of as the more complex and profound questions which now vex bench and bar—and even bewilder the "many-sided" reporter.

In the Convention of 1837.

Though I am warned by the limitations on both my time and my topic not to refer to Mr. Stevens' political career, it may not be altogether a transgression to note, as part of his work as a lawyer, that he was a member from Adams county of the so-called "Reform" Convention of 1837, to

revise the Constitution of Pennsylvania. The many volumes which contain the stormy debates and exhibit the partisan virulence of that convocation teem with illustrations of his biting personalities and caustic wit. Politics, especially on the anti-Democratic side of pending controversies, was in a somewhat disorganized condition, and Stevens was something of a free lance—being not entirely satisfied with the Whig leadership—nor it with him. With characteristic consistency, that in a body to reform the organic law of the Commonwealth mounted almost to offensive obduracy, he battled against recognition of any race or color distinction; and a generation before he came to select a site for his grave or to write his own memorable epitaph, he refused to affix his name to the document promulgated as the new Constitution,because it restricted suffrage to "white" males

Nor can I forbear, in this presence —so much enriched a few years ago by Mr. Ashhurst's scholarly and valuable memorial of the late William M. Meredith—to cite a passage at arms in that convention which may well serve to "point a moral" to those who constantly bewail the degeneracy of modern manners and who fancy that the attitude of the old school lawyers and politicians toward each other was always so dignified and unruffled. It happened that Mr. Stevens (who, in this instance, at least, had absorbed Jefferson's sentiment that cities were "sores of the body politic") favored a limited legislative representation in Philadelphia—just as a later convention actually engrafted upon the fundamental law a restriction in senatorial representation, which a most thoroughly regenerated executive and leg-

islature have both found an insurmountable obstacle to the constitutional enforcement of the Constitution. Mr. Meredith, resenting the bucolic reflection upon urban rights, spoke of Stevens as the "Great Unchained of Adams," and called him even worse names; whereupon—imagine the feelings of a polite Philadelphian—the artillery of Gettysburg thus blazed forth:

"The extraordinary course of the gentleman from Philadelphia has astonished me. During the greater part of his concerted personal tirade I was at a loss to know what course had driven him beside himself. I could not imagine on what boiling cauldron he had been sitting to make him foam with all the fury of a wizard who had been concocting poison from bitter herbs. But when he came to mention Masonry, I saw the cause of his grief and malice. He unfortunately is a votary and tool of the 'handmaid,' and feels and resents the injury she has sustained. I have often before endured such assaults from her subjects. But no personal abuse, however foul or ungentlemanly, shall betray me into passion, or make me forget the command of my temper, or induce me to reply in a similar strain. I will not degrade myself to the level of a blackguard to imitate any man, however respectable. The gentleman, among other flattery, has intimated that I have venom without fangs. Sir, I needed not that gentleman's admonitions to remid me of my weakness. But I hardly need fangs, for I never make offensive personal assaults; however, I may, sometimes, in my own defense, turn my fangless jaws upon my assailants with such grip as I may. But it is well that with such great strength that gentleman has so

little venom. I have little to boast of, either in matter or manners, but rustic and rude as is my education, destitute as I am of the polished manners and city politeness of that gentleman, I have a sufficiently strong native sense of decency not to answer arguments by low, gross, personal abuse. I sustained propositions which I deemed beneficial to the whole State. Nor will I be driven from my course by the gentleman from the city, or the one from the county of Philadelphia. I shall fearlessly discharge my duty, however low, ungentlemanly and indecent personal abuse may be heaped upon me by malignant wise men or gilded fools."

It was possibly due as much to what his most admiring biographer calls his "total want of creative power" as to his partisan and personal antagonisms that Stevens' influence was very light in a convention composed largely of lawyers and assembled to make laws; but he was no inconspicuous figure in a body which embraced in its membership, beside Mr. Meredith, such distinguished and able men as Daniel Agnew, Wm. Darlington, S. A. Purviance, James Pollock, George W. Woodward, John Sergeant, Joseph R. Chandler, Joseph Hopkinson, Charles Chauncey, Thomas Earle, Charles J. Ingersoll James M. Porter and Walter Forward.

Thirty years later, when Mr. Stevens died, one of this distinguished galaxy, George W. Woodward was his colleague in the Federal House of Representatives. He had been Justice and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and knew the lawyers of the Commonwealth for a full generation. He had no political sympathy with Mr. Stevens and deplored "the final influence of his great talents;"

but he "knew much of him as a lawyer," and when, after his death, the memorial addresses in the House were made, Judge Woodward said of him:

"As a lawyer Mr. Stevens was bold, honorable and candid, clear in statement, brief in argument, and always deferential to the bench. He was not copious in his citation of adjudged cases. I think he relied more upon the reasons than upon the authorities of the law. Indeed, his tastes inclined him rather to the study of polite literature than of the black letter. He loved 'Pope's Essay on Man' more than 'Siderfin's Reports.' Yet he betrayed no defect of preparation at the Bar. He always came with a keen discernment of the strong points of his case, and he spoke to them directly, concisely, and with good effect. His humor was irrepressible and trenchant; sometimes it cut like a Damascus blade. He was a lucky lawyer who would go through an argument with Mr. Stevens without being laughed at for something. Mr. Stevens' legal sagacity was exhibited here, in the presence of all of us, when he suggested the eleventh article of impeachment, which came nearer costing the President his official life than all the other articles together."

It certainly requires no apology—and scarcely an explanation—for any man's removal from anywhere to Lancaster, even seventy years ago. As a part of the "history of the case," it may, however, be fitly stated that Mr. Stevens, born to poverty, had, in early youth, learned to know the value and to keenly appreciate the power of money, and he never forgot his lesson. It is much less discreditable than many other things said about him, that he had, in a large degree,

the spirit of the gambler; and it is surely to his credit that, though he may have played high and, at times, even recklessly, he always "played fair," and never indulged in what has come to be called "a tight game." Personally, he was open-handed and generous, and paid his legal and moral debts to the last farthing.

Removed to Lancaster.

Furnaces and farms, even in Adams county, are fine things for a lawyer to own, when he does not have to practice law to keep the fires burning or the plough moving in the furrow; but there are—or, at least, there used to be-times of agricultural depression and industrial stagnation when, like the luckless Jerseyman in Mosquito county, the more one owns, the poorer he is. Between ventures in business and expenses in politics—before the days when campaign disbursements are rigidly filed in verified public statements—Mr. Stevens' debts approximated the then enormous sum of nearly a quarter million dollars, and he was "land poor." He came to Lancaster mainly to better his personal fortunes and to extend his practice, but not without regard to enlarged political possibilities. He found himself at a bar of able. brilliant and successful lawyers. There was no particular warmth of greeting toward him, neither did he ever get—nor apparently seek—generous social welcome; the dominant elements in his own political party were altogether too conservative to invite him to its leadership; and there, as in the county of his first "home-at-law," he bided his time to grasp political control. Though he was not personally well known to the general public in Lancaster county, his political fame had preceded him,

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Engraved portrait at age of 55.

and business naturally came without special contrivance. Like many a less famous lawyer, he did not hesitate to first break a lance in the Quarter Sessions, and his volunteer defense of a negro ruffian was so spirited as to widely advertise the newcomer. Within six months, he was recognized as a leader, and his place in the foremost rank remained undisputed as long as he was in active practice. Until his death, he retained property interests in Adams and Franklin counties, and had a large clientage there as long as he practiced. The reports from 1842 (3 W. & S.) to 1858 (30 Penna. State) teem with his appearances in the Appellate Court; but the wealth of his professional labors lay in the varied miscellaneous practice of a populous and rich agricultural county, inhabited by people who not only "know their rights," but who—may the Lord long bless them—are willing to pay lawyers to assert and defend them.[3]

Among his more distinguished contemporaries at the Lancaster Bar were Attorneys General Ellmaker,

[3] I found among my audience, when this address was made, many Pennsylvania lawyers quite skeptical as to the reported professional incomes at the Lancaster Bar during the first half of the nineteenth century. Several Philadelphians especially scouted the idea that Mr. Buchanan, "or any other man," within six years after his admission to the Bar, earned and received over eight thousand dollars per year in this "country town." The unerring accuracy of Mr. Buchanan's biographer, the late George Ticknor Curtis, and Mr. B.'s own characteristic precision and integrity are all-sufficient guarantees of the exact truth of their statements (Curtis' Life of James Buchanan, Vol. 1, p. 15) that from 1818 to 1823, inclusive, Buchanan averaged over $6,500 per year. I am satisfied this was by no means the highest earnings at the Bar of that period; Mr. Buchanan's preceptor, James M. Hopkins, easily doubled it; and doubtless Mr. Stevens, at a later day, averaged very much more.

Champneys and Franklin; Judge Ellis Lewis, later of the Supreme Court, who became Judge of the local Court soon after Stevens came to Lancaster; W. B. Fordney and Reah Frazer, local "sons of thunder;" Samuel Parke, whose ingenious special pleading was Stevens' special aversion; Isaac E. Hiester, who beat Stevens for Congress in 1852, and upon whom Stevens revenged himself in 1854 by beating him with ex-Sheriff Roberts; the meteor of the Bar, "Wash" Barton, and the brilliant John R. Montgomery, who survives in tradition as the star of first magnitude in our local constellation; A. Herr Smith, who became one of Mr. Stevens' successors inCongress and served theremore years continuously than the "old Commoner" himself; Judge D. W. Patterson, Judge John B. Livingston, who studied under Stevens, and Hugh M. North, who, full of years and honors, yet connects us with what at least is secure—a glorious past.

Although, as previously noted, he was not welcomed to the Lancaster Bar, and his invasion of it was regarded jealously by most of its members, he was especially antagonized at the outset by Benjamin Champneys—later Attorney General under Governor Shunk—an active and pugnacious, but withal learned lawyer. The traditions of the local Bar are replete with stories of their collisions. Stevens was wont to sneer at Champneys' copious citations of English authorities, and sometimes, it is to be feared, displayed the character of the demagogue in Court. When Champneys blustered, however, Stevens was cool and sarcastic. On one occasion when his antagonist "rode the whirlwind" Mr. Stevens slyly expressed the hope that the jury would "not be taken by storm"—"nor by

strategy," hissed Champneys, dreading the effect of his opponent's sarcasm. When a railroad attorney vigorously objected to Stevens "leading" one of the witnesses on the other side, Stevens raised a laugh among the jurymen by observing "he looked so young and innocent I felt it my duty to lead him." When in arbitration at a tavern his antagonist hurled an inkstand at him, Stevens dodged it and dryly said: "You don't seem competent to put ink to better use." In his defense of a young man charged with that odious crime which south of Mason and Dixon line is regarded as no less horrible than murder, Mr. Stevens actually illustrated the trite Elizabethan story with sword and scabbard, and acquitted the defendant.

Sometimes His Own Lawyer.

That Stevens was not unwilling, at times, to risk the reproach supposed to attach to a lawyer who presents his own cause, appears from a number of reported cases to which he himself was a party. Adjoining his furnace and timber lands to which, after his native county in Vermont, he gave the name "Caledonia," were the estates of a Hughes family, rival iron masters of that day. As far back as 3 Watts and Sergeant, 465, heard at Harrisburg in May, 1842, in an action of trespass quare clausem fregit, Stevens had won his title to the disputed locus in quo "on the headwaters of the Conococheague in the South Mountain." Years afterward the strife was renewed in Stevens vs. Hughes (31 Pa., 331), where he sharply reversed the lower Court's binding instructions against him and secured from Justice Strong the assertion of the principle that "one judgment upon the title to real estate in an action of trespass

is so conclusive as to preclude the same parties or their privies from afterward controverting it."

On the new trial Stevens recovered $500 damages. He had been indignant at his summary treatment by the Court on the first hearing, but was now quite as much astounded when, in jocose mind, he moved the Court to assess treble damages, to have the Court promptly raise the verdict to $1,500 and enter judgment for that amount. An appeal being taken Colonel McClure (who was of counsel for record and is my authority for the statement) scarcely had the hardihood to print a paper book in defense of the judgment, and Stevens, who, after dodging all other responsibility for the appeal, had agreed to argue it, disappeared at the critical moment. His associate promptly lost the case, and, when Stevens himself reappeared and learned the outcome, he grimly said he had expected it, he "knew it all the time," but he wanted the Supreme Court also to see and know "what an utter d—d fool the Judge below really was."

If the somewhat apocryphal story—as related of him—is true that, on one occasion, he made a rude demonstration in Court and the presiding Judge asked if he meant to show his contempt of the Court, whereupon Stevens retorted: "No, I am trying to conceal it"—it must have happened in Franklin county. The Lancaster Courts have never feared to punish offenders contemptuous of their dignity.

In an earlier case, Dobbins vs. Stevens (17 S. & R., 14), 1827, Mr. Stevens successfully defended his conduct in purchasing a property at Sheriff's sale, upon the title to which he had given an opinion that was

claimed to have deterred purchasers. The Court below said he had committed a "legal fraud," but Chief Justice Gibson set him right. His opponents, however, at the bar and in politics were wont to remind him of the case; and "Dobbins, Dobbins" was frequently fairly roared at him. Dobbins was an Adams county lawyer who died in the almshouse.[4]

Besides land-title and water-right cases, in which he was eminently successful, notable litigation like the case of Commonwealth vs. Canal Commissioners (5 W. & S., 388), in which he was associated with Mr. Meredith; Stormfeltz vs. Manor Turnpike Road (13 Pa., 555); Commonwealth vs. Orestes Collins (8 Watts, 331), involving the judicial tenure of a Lancaster county Judge under the Constitution of 1838; the perennially interesting Coleman vs. Grubb (23 Pa., 394)—Mr. Stevens was very frequently employed in cases of contested wills and especially delighted in that sort of fray. One of these which excited great popular interest and intense local feeling was the Stevenson case (33 Pa., 469), in which the decedent left an estate to strangers to his blood. Mr. Stevens lost it below—as most lawyers will lose such a case when left to a jury of the vicinage—but the trial Judge went so far as to say, in substance, that, for a testator to be competent, he must know who were the natural objects of his bounty, and how his estate was to be distributed "among them;" to which the dictum of Justice Woodward aptly replies that "a man without parents, wife or children, can scarcely be said to have natural objects of his bounty." After reversal the case was settled.

[4]See, also, Miles vs. Stevens, 3 Pa. 21.

In Behalf of Religious Liberty.

One of the notable cases outside of Lancaster county in which he was engaged while at the Lancaster Bar, was that of Specht vs. the Commonwealth, 8 Pa., 312, involving the right of the Seventh Day Baptists to engage in worldly employment on Sunday, in accordance with their conscientious belief that the seventh day of the week was the true Sabbath of the Lord. The report of the case presents Mr. Stevens' argument at exceptional length and is illustrative of his scholarship and legal learning. He recognized that the question at issue had been decided against him in Commonwealth vs. Wolf, 3 S. & R., 48, in which Tilghman, C. J., being absent, Yeates, J., rendered the opinion, Gibson concurring, and it was held that "persons professing the Jewish religion and others who keep the seventh day as their Sabbath are liable to the penalties imposed by the law for this offense." But he boldly grappled with "stare decisis" and argued that the question should be re-opened and the constitutionality of the Act of 1794 be re-considered, because the former opinion had been rendered "by two Judges, one of whom was just closing a long life of usefulness and was then of great age; the other was just entering upon his judicial career." Questions, he contended, of such "importance to the happiness of man" had been frequently re-considered by the Court, and he cited significant precedents. He derided the doctrine that "the Christian religion is a part of the common law," and declared that this doctrine had been "promulgated in the worst times and by the worst men of a government that avowedly united church and State; in times when men were sent to the block

or to the stake on any frivolous charge of heresy." Of course, the judgment of the Court was adverse to his contention, but his argument is a most readable and interesting one.

His Defense of Fugitive Slaves.

Like a large proportion of leading lawyers in the interior of the State, Stevens seldom appeared in the Federal Courts. It is not likely he was ever admitted to the Supreme Court of the United States; and, with all his large practice and professional activity for forty years, he cannot be said to have linked his name with any great case or legal principle, to have aided the development of jurisprudence, or to have made material contribution to the literature of the law.

In one branch of practice, happily now forever extinct, he attained unique distinction. It was altogether to have been expected that, in cases arising under the fugitive slave law, so conspicuous a political advocate of the free-soil doctrine would find and even seek frequent and most generally unrequited employment in the defense of the fugitive bondmen. It was not an uncommon thing for him, in habeas corpus hearings, and before Magistrates and Commissioners asked to detain or release alleged slaves, to make most extended, brilliant and effective speeches. These were eagerly awaited and listened to. When, too, as was frequently the case with the prominent Lancaster lawyers of his period, he and they visited the village taverns to try their law suits before arbitrators, he was greeted by troops of partisan admirers. These "halcyon and vociferous" occasions—be it noted in passing memory of the older and wiser bar—were generally graced with the cheerful presence of that "old

Madeira" for which Lancaster was famous (now, alas! lamentably scarce) and the price of several bottles was frequently added to the "docket costs." Physical encounters between opposing counsel were not unheard of, and Mr. Stevens' sometimes too loosely-fitting wig, which covered an entirely hairless head, tradition has it, was at times displaced in the collision. He himself scarcely ever indulged in ardent spirits; but, though of deformed foot, he was an athlete and a lover of the chase.

In what is said to have been the first suit in Pennsylvania under the fugitive Slave Act,a Cumberland county man named Kauffman was indicted and suit was brought against him for the full value of a lot of slaves to whom his family had given food and shelter without his knowledge. The great public and political importance attached to the principle involved made the case a celebrated one. It was tried in the Federal Court at Philadelphia, Stevens for the defense. A bitter and lengthy legal fight ensued, and, after long delay, the case went to the jury on the facts. It may be presumed the Government had the better of it, but Stevens excelled in the valuable professional gift of selecting a jury with excellent judgment; and a prominent citizen of his own county and a political sympathizer was on the jury. He kept his fellows out for six weeks and the defendant was acquitted. By a singular coincidence, the present successor of Mr. Stevens, representing Lancaster county in the Federal House of Representatives, is the son of his efficient friend on that jury.

Stevens at the age of 60. From a portrait by Brady.

Thaddeus Stevens

The "Christiana Riot."

Of all the cases of this character, however, in which he was engaged as counsel, none was so sensational and dramatic as the trial for treason of some of the persons engaged in what has passsed into history as "The Christiana Riot." On the 11th of September, 1851, near the village of Christiana, in Lancaster county, on the border of Chester, and about ten miles above the Maryland line, Edward Gorsuch, of Baltimore county, Md., accompanied by deputies marshal and slave catchers, sought to arrest his escaped slave, who was hidden and protected in the house of a free colored man named William Parker. The cottage, which became the centre of a fierce battle and witnessed the first bloodshed in resistance to the fugitive slave law,[5] was lo-

[5]With characteristic literary and historical thrift, that most accurate, genial and liberal of New England writers, the accomplished Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in his "Cheerful Yesterdays," published in the Atlantic Monthly (and wisely republished in permanent book form, 1899), fell into the easy error of recording that the death of a United States Marshal's deputy, named Batchelder, in one of the Faneuil Hall anti-slavery riots in 1854, was the "first drop of blood actually shed" in resistance to or enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. Unwilling to have the history of Pennsylvania forever written—or unwritten—by New Englanders, I challenged the distinguished historian's accuracy and called his attention to the "Christiana riot." In reply I had the following letter:

Glimpsewood, Dublin, N. H.,
September 3, 1899.

Dear Sir: Thank you for your note, calling attention to an undoubted error in my "Cheerful Yesterdays." What I must have meant to say was that the killing of Batchelder was the first shedding of official blood, so to speak; i. e., that of a United States officer. As I remember, the persons killed at Christiana were the slaveholder himself and his son, which puts the matter more on

cated in a valley where nearly every house of its Quaker residents was a station on the famous "under-ground railroad." It was not an uncommon thing for the residents of the neighborhood to speed fugitives on the way which led to the blazing North star of freedom; nor was it an unknown incident in that locality that, when the disappointed slave holder failed to find his lost property, he could enlist the services of those known as kidnappers to replace the fugitive with a free negro. These social and political conditions were well calculated to promote angry collisions between those who took upon themselves the official responsibility of enforcing an odious law, and earnest abolitionists who stoutly believed in the higher law of freedom for men of all race and color.

There had been a gathering of negroes at Parker's house the night before the arrival of the slave catchers, and the blowing of a horn soon collected a motley crowd of blacks, with a sprinkling of whites, armed with axes, hoes, pitch-forks and corn-cutters. In the onset upon the house Gorsuch was killed by a shot from a gun, presumably in the hand of his own slave, and his son was seriously wounded and the posse put to flight. Conspicuous among those who assembled at the scene—and who, if they did not give active aid to the infuriated negroes, at least refused to assist the officers in executing their writs—were Castner Hanway and

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the basis of self-defense as between claimant and slave; whereas the death of Batchelder was that of an United States officer. I have not access to books here, but on my return to Cambridge, will make the needed correction in the plates of "Cheerful Yesterdays."

Very truly yours,
T. W. HIGGINSON.

Elijah Lewis, prominent citizens of the neighborhood, of pronounced and well known abolition sentiments and sympathies. The death of Gorsuch and the armed resistance to the enforcement of the law produced a flame of excitement throughout the country, only equalled in its intensity by the events of the John Brown raid nearly ten years later. This is not the occasion to exploit the far-reaching consequences of the event, nor can we at this time calmly measure the confidence with which it was popularly asserted the offense committed on the peaceful soil of Lancaster county rose to the dignity of treason, by making war against the United States in resisting by force and arms the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and for obstructing the United States Marshal in the execution of due process.

Wholesale arrests followed, including Hanway and Lewis, and more than a score of negroes. At the preliminary hearing, in the City of Lancaster, Stevens outlined the testimony which the defense would produce, and, while he admitted the crime of murder had been committed, and was deplored by all the citizens of the county, and promised that the perpetrators, when ascertained and secured, would receive due punishment, he denounced, with characteristic savagery and invective, the testimony of the deputy marshal, and pictured, with vivid power, the provocation which the people of the neighborhood had to resentment and excitement by frequent outrages perpetrated upon innocent freemen by slave catchers from outside the State, and from desperate kidnappers who plied their nefarious trade at home.

On the trial in the United States Circuit Court in November, upon the charge of treason, Judges Grier and Kane sitting, it required a week to select a jury, and, by another strange coincidence, its foreman was a Lancaster countian, a conservative Whig, who lived to be a candidate for Congress against Stevens and one of the most formidable opponents he ever encountered. A mere outline of the exciting features of that trial would far outrun the limits of this paper and of your patience. For prudential motives, the leading part of the defense was assigned to John M. Read, then a Democrat with free soil inclinations, and Mr. Stevens even refrained from addressing the jury. But he was the central figure and dominating spirit of the scene, which was rendered especially picturesque by the two dozen accused colored men sitting in a row, all similarly attired, wearing around their necks red, white and blue scarfs, with Lucretia Mott sitting at their head, calmly knitting, the frightened negroes half hopefully regarding her sidewise as their guardian angel, and the tall, stern figure of Stevens as their mighty Moses. It will be remembered that James R. Ludlow, afterwards the distinguished Judge, assisted U. S. Attorney Ashmead in the prosecution; and it will never be forgotten with what vigor and venom the learned and ordinarily temperate Judge Grier, in his shrill, piping voice, hurled his anathemas at the "male and female vagrant lecturers" of the abolition cause, "infuriated fanatics and unprincipled demagogues" who had counselled "bloody resistance to the laws of the land," the necessary development of whose principles and the natural fruitage of whose seed, he de-

clared, was this murderous tragedy.

None the less, his judicial temper was so far restored that he felt constrained to admit the accused had not been shown to have been involved in a transaction which "rose to the dignity of treason or a levying of war." The prisoners were acquitted.

It is by no means certain, however, that Mr. Stevens' regard was not such as to lead him to deprecate lawlessness, even in advancement of his pronounced abolition ideas. No less accurate a chronicler than Judge Penrose relates that he was in Lancaster and in Stevens' office when the news came of John Brown's raid and capture. Some one said: "Why, Mr. Stevens, they'll hang that man;" to which he replied, "Damn him, he ought to be hung." It may be, however, that Mr. Stevens despised the blunder more than he hated the crime.

A Great "Country Lawyer."

For the purposes of this study or sketch, Mr. Stevens must be regarded simply as a skillful, brilliant and successful trial lawyer. To this task he brought undoubtedly great natural qualities, a liberal education and arduous special preparation. These were supplemented by a broad and intimate knowledge of men, gained in the varied fields of business, legal and political activity; by unbounded physical courage,and moral fearlessness to even do the wrong. A rare quality of wit and sarcasm, which he always knew how to use effectively and without abuse; perfect control of his temper, joined with unusual power of invective; readiness of expression, without any tendency toward mere "sound and fury" or rhetorical waste of vigor—were other distinguishing marks of his style. His vernacular was not,

however, entirely destitute of picturesque forms of speech. On one occasion in the Common Pleas, when he assailed one whom he conceived had acquired lands by fraud, and the defendant was not of an altogether prepossessing countenance, Stevens turned to him savagely, in the sight and hearing of the jury, and said: "The Almighty makes few mistakes. Look at that face! What did He ever fashion it for, save to be nailed at the masthead of a pirate ship to ride down unfortunate debtors sailing on the waves of commerce?"

If he was weakened by a lack of faith in others,he atoned for it, in part, by supreme confidence in himself; if he was naturally sympathetic, he did not permit this infirmity to mislead him from a sternness which he could readily harden into cruelty. To a lawyer friend, from whom he had a right to expect something better, but who did him a nasty trick, and not in a nice way, he once said: "You must be a bastard, for I knew your mother's husband, and he was a gentleman and an honest man." To a constituent who listened with intense interest to Webster's great Seventh of March speech, a plea for the Union, with or without slavery,but always for the Union, and who spoke to Stevens in admiration of the speech, came the crushing reply, "As I heard it, I could have cut his damned heart out."

And yet, he had a milder mood. When a committee of somewhat perturbed preachers called upon him for advice and expressed some apprehension lest they could not afford to pay his fee, he cheerfully assured them that he often defended clergymen for all kinds of misdemeanors and never charged them a cent. Neither in life nor in death did he ever seem

to be unmindful of the mother who bore him, or of the sacrifices she made to equip him for life's battle; but if he ever spoke other words in defense or exaltation of womanhood, the whisper died in the air. He was disgusted at the nomenclature adopted in the creation of some new districts in Lancaster county, and when one was called "Elizabeth," he declared he could never remember "townships named after women." His most fulsome biographer says he had no conception of beauty as expressed in painting, architecture or sculpture, and he "was not a man of taste." He read history and the classics, not novels nor poetry.

It will be remembered that on the memorable occasion which called forth Judge Black's superb eulogy on Gibson, at the May term of the Supreme Court, Harrisburg, May 9, 1853, the formal announcement of the ex-Chief Justice's death was made by Stevens; and those who read the proceedings as reported at the beginning of 6 Harris —and none can afford not to read them—will not fail to be impressed with the stately severity of Mr. Stevens' literary style and with his high appreciation of a great jurist; however much,as a politician, he may have ignored the true principle of selecting the judiciary, as a lawyer he professed the loftiest ideals.

Although Mr. Stevens had a great deal of kindness of heart and never seemed to be happier than when doing acts of charity to the deserving or extending relief to the unfortunate, or in ministering to the crippled and deformed, his tendency toward sarcasm and his disposition to say "smart things," often made him regardless of the feelings of those with whom he came into contact—especially if they were persons of power and influence.

It is related that when Chief Justice Thompson once told him of the infinite pains which he took in the preparation of his judicial opinions—often writing them over and over before he got them into a shape to satisfy himself—Mr. Stevens replied: "Yes, and then you don't get them in shape to satisfy the profession."

Once in the Lancaster County Oyer and Terminer, when the Court assigned a rather inferior member of the Bar to defend two notorious negro murderers, Stevens remarked, "The Court appointed H——— to defend them, so that there would be no doubt of their conviction."

It is perhaps a trite—though very characteristic—story that once when a lady admirer rather effusively addressed him as the "Apostle of Freedom" and begged a lock of his hair, he gallantly took off his wig and, laying it before her, invited her to "help herself."

His Qualities as a Lawyer.

As to what were his professional standards, his ethical ideas or religious beliefs, there is wide room for divergence of opinion. He had no social aspirations nor elevated domestic tastes. He viewed and even joined in foot ball with the judicial office without concern; and it was a matter of no particular importance to him if every man in public life had his price —except himself. He attracted many law students, and when he was asked for terms, he replied: "Two hundred dollars. Some pay; some don't,"—a custom at our local bar which, by the way, is occasionally still honored in the observance. It is not at all certain that his influence on those closely associated with him was not more enduring for ill than for good. He was a

student of the Scriptures, but rather for their historical and literary value than as a lamp to his pathway.

As a lawyer, Judge Black once said of him to Mr. Justice Brown, "When he died he was unequalled in this country as a lawyer He said the smartest things ever said. But his mind, as far as his sense of his obligation to God was concerned, was a howling wilderness."

Mr. Blaine, who had reversed Stevens' order of migration, and between whom and Stevens no love was lost—they were quite different types—sums up some of his characteristics as a parliamentary figure which were inseparable from his quality as a lawyer. He characterizes him as a natural leader, who assumed that place by common consent, "able, trained and fearless," "unscrupulous in his political methods," "learned in the law," and holding for a third of a century high rank at the bar—listen gratefully, brethren, to this even from an adopted New Englander—"of a State distinguished for great lawyers." He was taciturn, even at times misanthropic; "a brilliant talker, he did not relish idle and aimless conversation;" "he was much given to reading, study and reflection, and to the retirement which enables him to gratify these tastes;" like Emerson, he "loved solitude and knew its uses;" he spoke with ease and readiness, "his style resembling the crisp, clear sententiousness of Dean Swift;" his extempore sentences bore the test of grammatical and rhetorical criticism; he indulged in wit, not in humor; when his sharp sallies set the House in an uproar, his visage was that of an undertaker. His memory of facts, dates and figures was exact, and his references were to the book, chapter and page. "He had the

courage to meet any opponent, and was never overmatched in any intellectual conflict." Mr. Henry L. Dawes, in his Dartmouth College eulogy, accords him like high praise.

Col. A. K. McClure, who was for many years in close personal relations with him, and had large opportunities to make this contrast, has repeatedly told me substantially what he twice committed to permanent record; that Stevens was the most accomplished all-around lawyer of his day in Pennsylvania; thoroughly grounded in the fundamental principles, and altogether familiar with the decided cases; he was most skillful in eliciting testimony from his own witnesses and adroit in confounding the opposition in cross examination; he was ingenious and convincing in addressing a jury, and courteous to his opponents, especially if they were younger men, and unless they transgressed professional urbanity. Summing up his traits as a lawyer, Colonel McClure says: "I have known many of our great lawyers who were great advocates, or great in the skillful direction of cases; but he is the only man I recall who was eminent in all the attributes of a great lawyer"

No one was better qualified to analyze his character and career as a lawyer than his most distinguished student and immediate successor, as Representative of Lancaster County in Congress, the late Hon. Oliver J. Dickey, himself a leader of the Lancaster Bar in his day. His father was a prominent citizen of Beaver county, Pa., whose political devotion to Mr. Stevens had much to do with young Dickey's coming East to study law with him and locating in Lancaster to practice. In his eulogy of his predecessor in Congress, Mr. Dickey pro

nounced the same high estimate upon his ability as a lawyer as those from whom I have already quoted; and he added:

"No matter with whom associated, he never tried a cause save upon his own theory of the case. At *nisi prius* he uniformly insisted on personally seeing and examining, before they were called, the important witnesses on his own side. Generally relying upon the strength and presentation of his own case, he seldom indulged in extended cross-examination of witnesses, though possessing rare ability in that direction. He never consented to be concerned or to act as counsel in the prosecution of a capital case, not from opposition to the punishment, but because it was repugnant to his feelings and that service was the duty of public officers. He was as remarkable for his consideration, forbearance and kindness when opposed to the young, weak or diffident, as he was for the grim jest, haughty sneer, pointed sarcasm or fierce invective launched at one who entered the lists and challenged battle with such weapons. He was always willing to give advice and asistance to the young and inexperienced members of the profession, and his large library was ever open for their use. He had many young men read law with him, though he did not care to have students. There were, however, two recommendations which never failed to procure an entrance into his office: ambition to learn, and inability to pay for the privilege."

The recollections of his few surviving contemporaries and the oral traditions of the community concur with the recorded impressions of his two local biographers—one, Alexander H. Hood, his devoted friend and politica:

ally, the other, Alexander Harris, his inveterate antagonist. They agree that as a lawyer he showed marvellous early training. His power to remember and accurately repeat testimony without taking notes was unrivaled. In the famous Jackson land title case tried at Hollidaysburg, reported in 13 Penn. St. R., 368, which lasted many days, Stevens was not observed to have taken a single note; but his summing up of the testimony was such a marvel of accuracy and voluminousness that it remains to this day a vivid tradition of the Blair county Bar.

His illustrations were apposite, his speeches effective, never flowery, never tedious; his citations were few, but directly to the issue; his attacks were sharp and always concentrated on the weak point of his adversary. His handwriting was illegible, and he was often unable to read it himself—a characteristic of greatness which, I believe, has come into modern vogue.

Intuition, education and experience combined to endow him with that most valuable acquirement of a trial lawyer —the ability to wisely select a jury. When he could not get one to suit him, he would often make zealous efforts to continue the case. One time, it is related, under such circumstances in a case of his own, he found his antagonist just as anxious to continue, of which disposition he was quite willing to take advantage. The counsel for each, however, professed disinclination and insisted on the other paying the costs as a condition of the case going over. Stevens, apprehensive lest there might be a miscarriage, stepped forward and said to his counsel, "Mr. H——— and I will settle the question of costs between us," and while counsel were adjusting the motion Stevens and

Mr. Stevens at the age of 64. From photograph by C, W. Eberman,

his antagonist went to the nearest tavern and decided the liability for costs of the term by a game of "seven-up."

In his earlier forensic efforts there is not lacking evidence of classic reading; and his style then had much of the florid rhetoric and historical allusion so characteristic of the popular orator of that day. For example, his speech, in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, March 10, 1838, in favor of the "bill to establish a School of Arts in Philadelphia and to endow the colleges and academies of the Commonwealth," teems with references to the commerce of "Ancient Tyre or modern Venice," the "Appian ways of Rome," "the deserted plains of Palestine," "the eloquent example of Troy," "the learning of the Grecian bard. "the once proud, populous and powerful capital of Edom," and her "rock-built ramparts," "the poverty of Sparta," "the silken Persian with his heaps of gold," "the victors and victories of Marathon and Salamis," "the law giver of Sparta," "the mighty captain of Thermopylae," "mighty ocean of Pierean waters," etc. Like many others who in later years disdain their earlier florid style, Mr. Stevens recalled this highly decorated speech with some fondness; for as late as 1865 he republished and widely circulated it among his local constituents.

Not the least valuable of the lawyer-like gifts he possessed was the faculty of knowing when to quit, and of not going on after he was done. I have noted his effective, rather than his copious, citation of authorities, and his directness rather than tediousness of speech. He was unexcelled in the management of witnesses. In one exciting trial he greatly disconcerted his client by refusing to call his

strongest witness. Stevens had just apprehensions that his ultra-positiveness would prejudice the jury, and risked the chance of dispensing with him—very wisely, as it turned out. Unlike many men with ready wit, he never resented and always appreciated a keen shaft turned upon himself, and some of the old Court criers and interpreters tell amusing stories of retorts by witnesses under cross-examination whom Stevens quickly dropped, joining heartily in the laugh evoked at his own expense. He was quick to discern when he caught a Tartar.

He once won a close case by making an important witness against him, a very plain Amishman, admit on the witness stand that he was a "horse jockey"—a term which he used with telling effect upon a jury of farmers.

In his defense, in the Adams County Court, of Taylor, tried for the murder of Bluebaugh, the principal witness for the Commonwealth swore to the declaration, made by the accused at the time of the shooting, "By G—d, I have shot him." Mr. Stevens succeeded in getting the witness to state that the words might have been, "My God, I have shot him," with all the force an exclamation of surprise and regret would have, in contrast with one of malicious acknowledgment and satisfaction; and thus Mr. Stevens acquitted his client.

When He Left the Bar.

When Mr. Stevens returned from Congress in 1853, after two terms of rather conspicuous service, he reasonably expected no further official experience. Not only was rotation the rule, but he had not yet become a controlling factor in local politics. The enlargement of his practice, the

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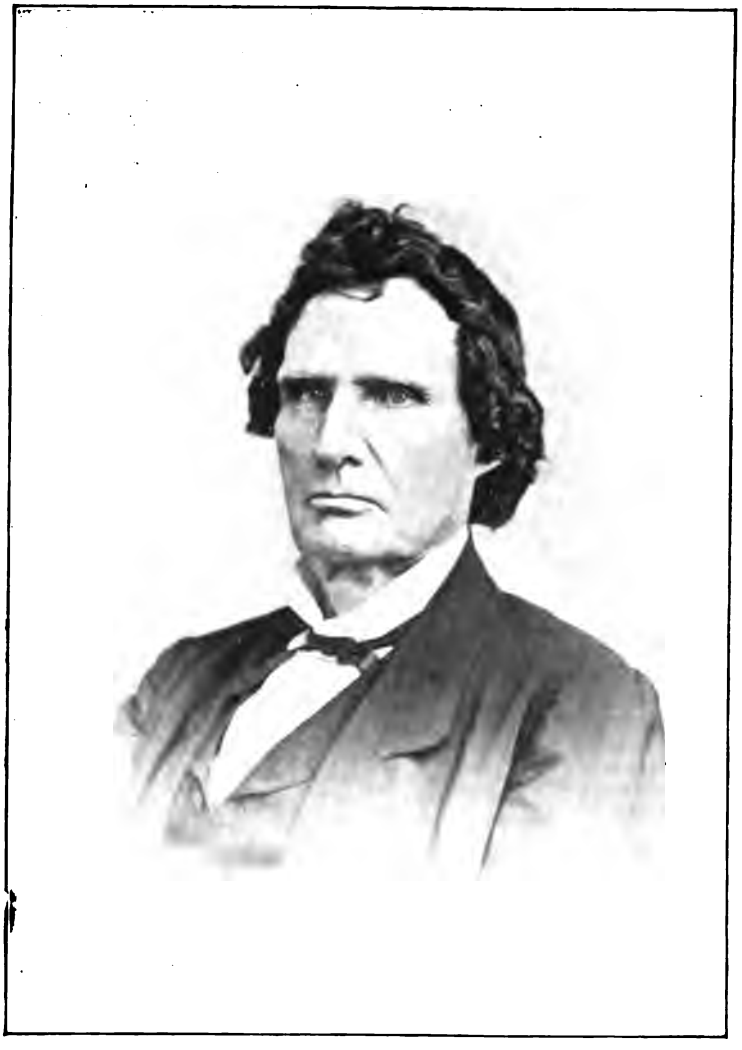


Mr Stevens at the age of 70.

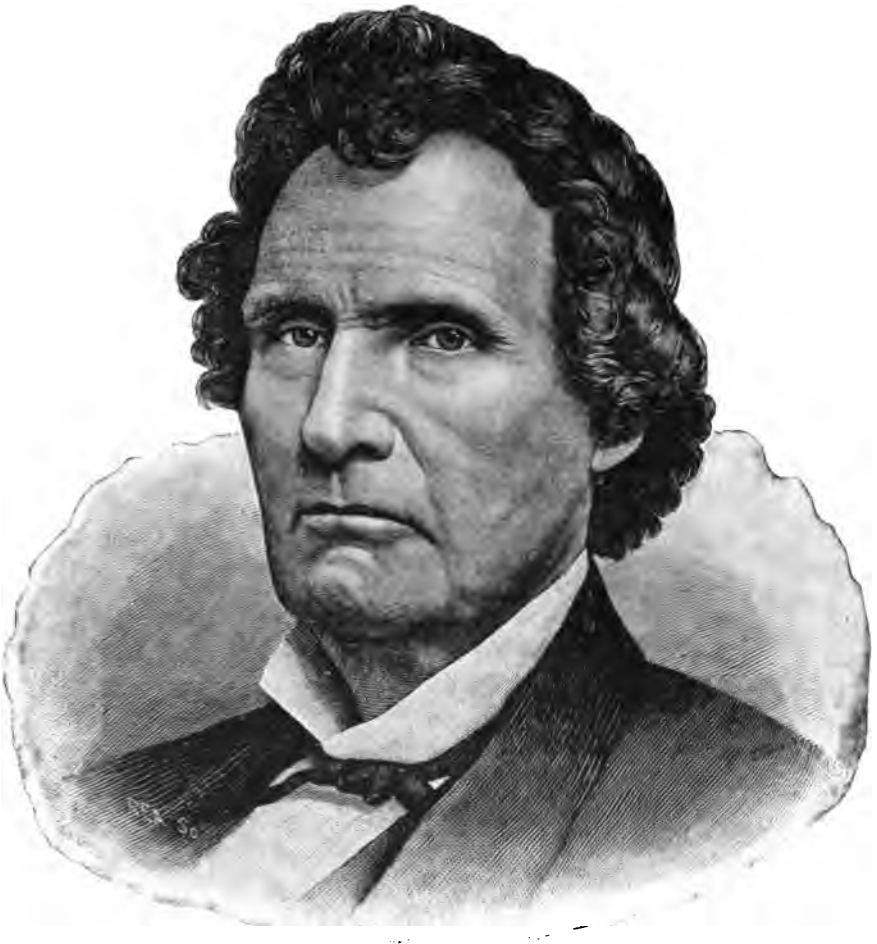
restoration of his fortune and the redemption of his property had much to do with his change of purpose; but the organization of the Republican party, its aggressive attitude against the extension of slavery and the increasing arrogance of the South opened the path to his re-election in 1858. That year saw his last recorded appearance in the Supreme Court, and thereafter his docket shows but desultory attention to the business of his office.

His last notable case in the local Court was at the January Oyer and Terminer of 1860, in Lancaster County, when he appeared with David Paul Brown, of Philadelphia; William Darlington and J. Smith Futhey, of Chester County, in the defense of Sylvester McPhillen (so indicted, otherwise "McFillen"), charged with murder. The case was one of the most famous and the trial one of the most exciting in the annals of the Lancaster Bar. The parties resided on the extreme eastern border of Lancaster county, and the homicide occurred along, if not across, the Chester County line. McFillen was indicted for the murder of Thomas G. Henderson. There was a long-standing feud between the two families, who represented, respectively, the old aristocratic and more pretentious English element of the community and the rougher and more popular Irish class. They met on August 11, 1859, at a "picnic," a semi-public function, rather of the character of a harvest home. Three Henderson brothers were there and two of the McFillens, with attendant partisan friends. There was a series of altercations; one of the incidents was McFillen hurling a good-sized stone, which struck Thomas G. Henderson on the back of the head. At first he was not supposed to have

been seriously injured, but he died four days later.

Each party to the controversy had its adherents, and for months preceding the trial there was a rancorous feud, which gradually involved almost the entire neighborhood. The late Col. Emlen Franklin was District Attorney, but the manuscript indictment is in the handwriting of one of his colleagues; Hon. Isaac E. Hiester, one of Stevens' political antagonists, the late Col. William B. Fordney and Hon. O. J. Dickey, all eminent lawyers of their day, having been specially retained to prosecute the defendant to the utmost. The indictment was found at the November term, but there was a plea "against the jurisdiction of the Court," it having been contended either that the stone was thrown or that its victim was struck on the Chester county side of the line. The plea was overruled. At that time the new provisions of the Criminal Code of March 31, 1860, providing for the trial of offenses committed near the boundaries of counties, had not yet been adopted. In the report on the penal code the new 48th and 49th sections (which provide that trial may be had in either county for offenses occurring within five hundred yards of the inter-county boundary line, P. L. 1860, p. 427) are recommended as "of real practical value" "to obviate the difficulty of proof" which occurs when it is doubtful in which county the offense has been actually perpetrated.

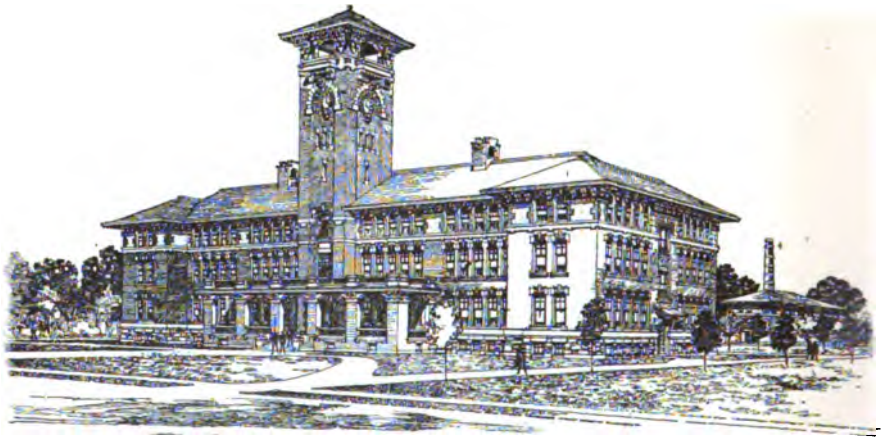
The case came on for trial January 19, 1860, but Mr. Stevens did not take the leading part, a circumstance which was due in some measure to the fact that he was liable to be called away from the trial to his Congressional duties in Washington. It was also ascribed to the reason that he was not



Mr Stevens at the age of 72.

accustomed to play the secondary part, even when so distinguished a criminal lawyer as David Paul Brown was his colleague. Mr. Brown, it will be remembered, was almost a fop in dress and manner, and his rotund and pictorial oratory was of a kind with which Mr. Stevens had little sympathy. It is related that during the trial he manifested a certain restiveness not common to him. The number of witnesses in attendance on the case was unusually large. They were divided into rival bands of rank and rabid partisans, who gave noisy vent to their sympathies and met in nightly brawls at public places in the city. The trial lasted Thursday, Friday and Saturday. Mr. Hiester opened for the Commonwealth, but before he had entirely closed his argument Mr. Stevens was granted leave to address the jury on behalf of the defense, as he was obliged to leave for Washington, his "pair" with an opposition member of the House expiring that day. He deplored the rancor which had characterized the prosecution, defined the different grades of murder under the law, expressed regret that the prosecution was pressing for conviction of the higher grade, and urged that his client was at most guilty only of involuntary manslaughter. On Sunday the jury attended the Presbyterian Church in the morning, St. James' Episcopal Church in the afternoon, and heard a temperance service at the Moravian Church in the evening. Mr. Hiester concluded for the Commonwealth on Monday; the local newspaper reports that when he was followed by David Paul Brown, for the defense, who spoke nearly all afternoon, Brown's remarks "were listened to in deep silence and with such intense interest that although the

bar was surrounded with an audience standing seven or eight deep, and the hall crowded to the door, it appeared like a collection of human statues." Col. Forney occupied the evening session with an address that lasted from half after seven until past ten o'clock.



Stevens Industrial School. (In course of erection.)

After being out two hours the jury returned with a verdict of "not guilty," and such a scene of disorder ensued as the Lancaster County Court House has probably never witnessed before or since. The newspaper reports that "for a time a stranger might have supposed himself in the hall of the House of Representatives at Washington or in a Court House where Sickles was tried and acquitted. The Court crier stamped his foot and demanded silence, informing the crowd that they were neither in a playhouse nor at a horse race." The street scenes until daylight were even more uproarious and disorderly, McFillen's friends engaging

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Mr. Stevens at the age of 75.

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in a prolonged demonstration, cheering the defendant's counsel and the jury, and groaning for the prosecution. Mr. Stevens, however, was not at home to see or hear the popular "vindication" of his last client in the Criminal Courts.

Years later he rendered a last service to the members of his profession by writing his own will, to which circumstance may be due in some part the fact that the contract for the orphans' home he founded was let only last month. The rapidly succeeding events of the war and his rise to leadership of his party, through parliamentary control of the popular branch of Congress, took him forever from the bar and ended his career as a practicing lawyer—with which only I have to do now.

Otherwise it would be interesting, and, perhaps, valuable to follow him into the wide arena of national power and politics, to weigh his policies and principles, to measure his attitude toward great questions of government and constitutional law, of finance, of emancipation and confiscation, of reconstruction, executive impeachment and of territorial extension, to discriminate how closely he adhered to or how far he departed from the law as he viewed it, and to determine whether or not, as a statesman, he was inspired by mean or noble, selfish or patriotic motives, whether he was a violent, malignant, headstrong destructionist, or an ardent lover of human liberty, whose hope for and faith in Republican institutions made him see with clear vision and hold with tenacious clutch to the higher law of a nation's supreme necessity, by which alone she can be saved for the destiny whither her people are

taking her and for which she was outfitted by the God of all nations.[6]

[6](For valuable suggestions and interesting reminiscences embodied in the above sketch, I acknowledge my indebtedness to Col. A. K. McClure, Hon. Wm. McLean, of Gettysburg; Hon. H. M. North, LL.D., and Samuel Evans, Esq. of Columbia; Hon. J. Hay Brown and Hon. John Stewart, of the Supreme Court; Hon. C. B. Penrose, of Philadelphia; Simon P. Eby, Esq., of Lancaster; S. A. Williams, Esq., of Bel Air, Md., and to the biographies of Stevens thus far published, including those of McCall, Callender, Hood and Harris.)
W. U. H.

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Tomb of Thaddeus Stevens in Shreiner's Cemetery.

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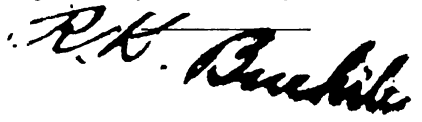
PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1906.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."



THE LAST ONE.

NOTES ON COLONEL HOUSSACKER.

THE SOCIETY'S ANNUAL OUTING.

MINUTES OF SEPTEMBER MEETING.

A DAY OFF.

VOL. X. NO. 8.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1906.

The Last One, - - - - - - - - - - 295
By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.

Notes on Colonel Houssacker, - - - - - - 304
By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.

The Society's Annual Outing, - - - - - - 310

Minutes of the September Meeting, - - - - - 314

A Day Off, - - - - - - - - - - - 317

The Last One.

Where Cocalico's clear waters
Past the mill, and 'neath the willow,
Ripple o'er their pebbly bed.
—Mrs. M. N. Robinson.

Archaeologists tell us of a stone age, an iron age, a bronze and other ages, but these have long since passed away and we have fallen upon other times. There are so many things at the front to-day that one hardly knows what to call our own age. One thing is very evident to everybody, and that is, we are living in the period of "store clothes," in the ready-made clothing store. We see the evidences of it on every hand, and when we take up the daily newspaper it confronts us in almost every column.

A very different condition of things prevailed a century ago, yes, half a century ago. Store clothes were unknown. The "fashionable clothier" who now presents himself in the newspaper had no existence then. How, then, were our fathers and grandfathers clothed? It is a simple story and soon told.

In those days nearly every farmer kept a few sheep, say from ten to twenty-five. May was always the sheep-shearing month. The wool was washed and then laid out to dry. Then it was carefully cleaned and picked, after which it went to the carding mill, where it underwent certain processes which it is not necessary to describe here, by which it was formed into rolls. These were then taken back home, where it was spun on the

large and small spinning wheels—the "woll rad." In many farmers' homes there were looms where the cloth was woven. If not, then the services of the nearest weaver were called in and the material converted by him into the kind of cloth desired. The home-made woolen cloth was taken to the fulling mill, "walk muhle," where it was given a treatment of soap and water. Then it was beaten and turned, and when removed from its bath to be given its final washing, it was thicker and narrower than before. Then it was colored as the owner had directed, after which it was dried, trimmed and rolled and ready for use by its owner.

Home-Made Clothes.

Most of the garments in the country were made by the woman of the house and her daughters. There were no books or magazines with their fashion plate accompaniment, and no sewing machines. The skill of the housewife was all that was necessary. The garments fashioned by her hands would hardly pass muster today, but they were strong and warm and well answered their purpose. In those days fashions did not change twice or thrice a year, as now, and a well-made Sunday suit lasted the farmer for many years, and was then fashioned into a garment for one of his boys. All this kept the farmers' wives and daughters busy, and, no doubt, from indulging in the idle gossip which is now a universal practice. Still later, the tailor was often engaged to spend a week or as long as was necessary to make the men's and boys' clothes.

To-day all this is changed. We even know of it only by tradition. A few of us only remember the facts. When

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FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY A. K. HOSTETTER.

The Last Fulling Mill in Lancaster County.

the small or large boys need a suit at the present day, the father or mother takes Johnnie and Sammy to the clothing store, turns him over to the inspection of the salesman and later emerges from the fashionable establishment with the metamorphoses of the two youngsters so complete that their own brothers and sisters hardly know them when they get home.

But the foregoing was not the purpose of the writer when he sat down to write this article, and the reason why these details have been introduced has been to show the important place fulling mills once held in this community and the decadence of that old and most honorable industry, and also to say something about the last one of its kind still in active operation in Lancaster county, and which was visited by the writer one day this week.

The First One.

Before I speak of this mill, a glance at these mills a century ago and more will not be out of place. So far as the writer knows, the first fulling mill in the county was the one built by Stephen Atkinson, on the Conestoga River, near this city. That was in 1714. Atkinson, having built a dam across the Conestoga to secure the proper fall for his milling machinery, neglected to provide a sluice way for the passage of the shad in their spawning migrations up the stream. This deprived the settlers on the upper waters of the river of their annual shad supply, so by a concerted movement they swooped down on Atkinson's dam in 1730, tore it out and got their share of the shad they were entitled to. This action led to the passage of an act by the Provincial Assembly, providing that on all dams erected on the Conestoga thereafter a

passageway for the passage of fish going upstream should be left. I am indebted to an article by Samuel Evans, Esq., for the following historical and biographical data relative to Stephen Atkinson and his fulling mill:

In 1716, Stephen Atkinson, to whom permission had been granted about two years before to settle on a neck of land between Edmund Cartlidge and the Conestoga river, and to build a mill and make a dam, and he having built a good fulling mill, a warrant was made out for the neck of land and ten or twenty acres over the river next his dam.

In the year 1728 he took 138 acres in the bend of the Conestoga. This mill was located in the bend of the river, between Reigart's and Graeff's Landing. The mill and dwelling were on the south side of the river, and fell in Lampeter township, when the county was organized. This was the first mill in the county which obtained its water power direct from the Conestoga river.

Mr. Atkinson died in 1739, and the mill was run by his son, Matthew Atkinson. Thomas Doyle, of Lancaster, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Stephen Atkinson. Hon. John Wilkes Kittera, the first member of Congress from Lancaster under the Constitution, and who served ten years, was married to a great-granddaughter of Stephen Atkinson.

This first fulling mill seems to have had a long and prosperous career. In that old German newspaper, the "Lancaster Zeitung," for October, 1789, I found the advertisement of William Chambers, who notified the public that the fulling mill formerly Atkinson's, about one mile from Lancaster, on the Conestoga river, and opposite Ross' mill, was now repairing, and

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY A. K. HOSTETTER.

The Fulling Mill Dam on the Cocalico.

would be ready for business in a short time. No doubt, the mill continued in operation into the nineteenth century, and completed its business centennial.

Many Others Come Along.

That early fulling mill was the forerunner of many more to come. The needs of the rapidly increasing population of the county made them necessary. From the records of the township assessors, still in existence in our Court House, the following table has been made of the fulling mills in operation in this county at various periods:

Year.	No. of Mills.
1756	4
1770	4
1776	9
1790	9
1805	25
1817	25

In the last-mentioned year these fulling mills were distributed through the county as follows:

Rapho township	4
Warwick township	4
Cocalico township	4
Strasburg township	2
Donegal township.	2
Earl township	2
Drumore township	2
Little Britain township	2
Lampeter township	1
Elizabeth township	1
Sadsbury township	1

The other eleven townships,namely, Conestoga, Manor, Manheim, Hempfield, Mount Joy, Leacock, Caernarvon, Salisbury, Colerain and Martic, had none. In 1817 there were, besides the above-mentioned, five carding mills, two in Strasburg township and three in Elizabeth.

The Last One.

I return now to the only remaining fulling mill in operation in Lancaster county. It is located on the Cocalico creek, about half a mile north of Brownstown, and four or five miles south of Ephrata, in West Earl township, The first mill built on this site was erected in 1831, just seventy-five years ago, by Mr. Jacob Zook, the father of the present owner and operator, John K. Zook. The present mill is not the one built in 1831, but was erected in 1868, and has been operated continuously by Mr. Zook since that time. It is a large three-story frame structure, with attic, and has always done a large local trade. Only purely woolen fabrics are made. There is no cotton about the place, nor any shoddy, save a few samples left by selling agents, but which are never purchased. The fact that every product turned out at this fulling mill is strictly all wool is what has made it its reputation for the excellence of its productions. A number of well-known Lancastrians have for years been getting material for their clothing at this mill. The cassimeres turned out are, perhaps, nowhere excelled for their wearing qualities.

The Various Products.

Many kinds of products are manufactured, such as cassimeres of various weights and colors; shirting flannels, blankets of various weights and colors, horse blankets, carded wool for comforters, and even woolen dress goods for women, heavy woolen stockings, for which there is a large trade; carpet chain, stocking yarns and many other articles.

The mill is run the whole year 'round, there being always work enough to keep the four hands employed busy. Mr. Zook purchased last

spring 4,311 pounds of wool from farmers who brought it to his mill, and 3,495 pounds additional in the Boston and Philadelphia markets. This wool is carefully assorted into grades and then washed, after which it is taken to the large attic floor, where it is dried. The other three floors are devoted to the various departments of the work to be done. The second floor is given to the weaving department. It is full of machinery of various kinds. The first is devoted to the carding operations. The machines required to carry out the various processes, from the raw material to the finished products, are many and various. There is a picker, running 900 revolutions per minute; a breaker, a finisher, a truster, a spinner, carding machines, a fulling stock, or shrinking machine, a napper, for putting nap on finished goods, or shearing machine, and nine spinning machines and 234 spindles.

Of course, the machinery in this mill is not equal to that of the great woolen mills of New England, nor adapted to the making of so many kinds of goods, but, if somewhat antiquated, the product is equal to any of the same grade made anywhere. It has won its reputation for good work through the use of honest material, and persons come to the mill from far and near to buy the cloth for wearing apparel and the other products of the mill. Above all, does it deserve special mention from the fact that it is the last survivor of what was once a most thriving local industry. In this locality its like will probably never be seen again.

How Fulling Is Done.

Only woolen goods require fulling, The following more elaborate account is taken from a source placed in my hands:

In a stout, securely placed trough made by hollowing, one large piece or a few smaller pieces of cloth was exposed to the cleansing power of water and soap. The bottom of the trough was concave, and so disposed in relation to the two hammers which were alternately raised and allowed to drop into the trough that the cloth was pushed with great force to the bottom of the trough and made to turn upon itself. This was the cleansing and thickening process. Frequently as many as seventy-five and eighty yards lay in the lathering trough at the same time. At the completion of this kneading clean water was added till all the soap was washed out.

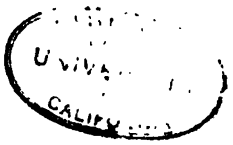
From this trough all cloth requiring to be dyed went direct to a vat for the purpose. Otherwise all was taken immediately to the stretcher in the meadow. This consisted of two long rails, one stationery upon strong posts, and the other movable. Both rails were provided with appropriate hooks, three inches apart. To the hooks of the top rail the cloth was fastened as evenly as possible by one edge. To the free edge the movable rail was then attached in like manner. This done, the lower rail was weighted down by means of great stones and retained in place by means of pins in the upright posts.

From the stretcher the cloth went to a great screw press. Here turn upon turn, with sheets of cardboard interposing, it was placed with great care into the press. No wrinkles or creases were allowed to appear when the cloth came from the press.

Next came the primitive carding, which was done by hand, the cloth being tarown across a firm iron rod. The carder worked with both hands, rais-

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY A. K. HOSTETTER.

Turbine Wheel that Furnishes Power to Mill.



ing a nap on the side to be finished as the face.

From the carding rod the cloth was taken to the dressing machine. This first brushed the nap stiffly in one direction, thus giving the goods an up and down. Then followed a machine somewhat like a modern lawn-mower or barber's short clipper, which made the face side smooth, even and glossy. Cloth from the loom is soft and limp and shows every thread in its make-up. One side was like the other. In short, it had no desirable qualities. The mesh was open. Cloth from the fulling was heavier and narrower and more durable.

Notes on Colonel Houssacker.

At the May meeting the writer read a short paper on an "Old Road Petition," and in commenting upon the names attached thereto, remarked that from their large number and the prominent character of many of their owners, a good article might be written. Among the rest he indicated that of Colonel Nicholas Houssacker, who, after first serving as the Colonel of a Lancaster county regiment, went over to the British at the battle of Trenton, carrying about a score of his men with him. Since then some facts have come into his possession concerning Colonel Houssacker, and these are herewith presented.

This man was a German, and probably foreign born. He appears to have been a soldier of fortune. I have never seen an extended sketch of his career and do not know whether one was ever written. As little is known of him, I will here record the few facts that have come under by notice. By early occupation he was a shoemaker (as I think I have seen either in the Col. Rec. or Archives, but which record I am unable at this moment to find), and resided in Lebanon. He appears to have taken no special part in the early Revolutionary measure adopted in this county. His name does not appear as a delegate at any of the meetings held in this city. Neither was he prominent in political life prior to that time. But he comes to the front in 1777 as the Colonel of a regiment. (My grandfather served in it as an enlisted volunteer.) How he

reached such high command without any previous distinction seems unaccountable. It is possible that he may have been a trained soldier in the Fatherland. Graydon says he "was considered a capable disciplinarian."

Graydon's Account.

The fullest sketch I have found of this man Nicholas Houssacker is in Gradon's Memoirs, and I will here give the main facts as detailed by him. Graydon was captured at the battle of Long Island, and, along with the other prisoners, was taken to New York city, where he gave his parole and was accorded the freedom of the city. Here he met the traitor, Houssacker, of whom he writes as follows:

"He had been originally commissioned a Major in Wayne's battalion. He had been, if I mistake not, an Adjutant of the Royal Americans; and was considered a capable disciplinarian.

"He was a German, or rather a man of no country or any country; a citizen of the world, a soldier of fortune, a true mercenary. Thinking that our cause was going down rapidly, he saw no reason for adhering any longer to it; but came over to the enemy in the season of our extreme adversity, though he did not reach us until after the affairs of Trenton and Princeton. Not liking the name of a deserter, he called himself a prisoner, but certainly, if he was one, he had made much better terms than we had. He told us, however, that all was over; and that General Washington was reduced to the necessity of giving enormous bounties for only two or three weeks' service; that by means of these, and haranging his troops, he contrived to keep a few in the field,

but there was not the smallest doubt that the business was up and America subdued. His inference was that we ought immediately make our peace. 'What do you shut yourselves up here for?' said he, in his rattling manner, to Miles, Atlee and Magaw, with whom he was acquainted. 'Why don't you go to the coffee house and mix with the British army, as I do? They will use you well, you may depend upon it.' And, to be sure, the thing was easy enough; it was only to change sides and cry "peccavi," and receive forgiveness. Nevertheless, Colonel Houssacker made no proselytes to his opinion, or rather to his principle."*

His Property Confiscated.

Colonel Houssacker was the owner of several properties in Lebanon. These were seized and sold as the property of an attainted traitor, by order of the provincial authorities. President Moore,on February 19, 1782, signed a deed conveying to one, William Bailey, a two-story house and lot of ground, sold as the property of Nicholas Houssacker, an attainted traitor, "situated in the town of Lebanon, in the county of Lancaster," for the sum of £2,200, subject to one-fourth of the said sum to be reduced to a yearly ground rent payable to the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania." Col. Rec., Vol. 13, p. 199.

On April 4, 1782, President Moore signed another deed conveying to John Doyle, a certain lot of ground in Lebanon,containing about five acres, seized and sold as the property of Nicholas Houssacker, for £775 specie. Col. Rec., Vol. 13, p. 251.

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*Graydon's Memoirs, pp. 237-38.

His Widow Asks Indemnity From the British Government.

I am indebted to Dr. S. P. Heilman, the Secretary of the Lebanon County Historical Society, for copies of the following documents, the originals of which are in the archives of that society. They throw further light on the life and fortunes of Colonel Houssacker:

"Leetori Benevole Salutem.

"I do certify that Nicolaus Hausecker, of Germantown Township, Philadelphia County, Bachelor, and Cathrin Elisabeth Guth, of said place, spinster, were lawfully joined together in Holy Matrimony on the tenth Day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand and seven Hundred and fifty-eight.

"Given in Germantown Township, Philadelphia County.

"Witness my Hand and Seal.

"MICHAEL SCHLATTER,
"Minister of the Gospel."

"An Account of Losses Sustained by Elizabeth Houssegger, Widow, and the children of the late Nicholas Housseger, last of Lebanon, in the County of Lancaster, of the Province of Pennsylvania, a Captain in an American Regiment in the Service of His Majesty, the King of Great Brittain, in consequence of his Attachment to the British Government:

A piece of meadow ground, containing Six Acres, valued at Six pounds Sterling per acre. £ 36

A Lot of Land, in the Town of Lebanon, purchased at three hundred and Fifty Pounds, and whereon Mr. Housseger built an elegant Dwelling House, and made other improvements, valued at £1,100 Sterling..... 1,100

Sterling £1,136

"Dauphin (Late Lancaster) County, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, ss.:

"The 10th Day of August, Anno Domini, 1786, Before me, the subscriber, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, and of the Peace, in and for the said County, Personally came and appeared Elizabeth Houssegger, widow of Nicholas Houssegger, late of Lebanon Town, in the County aforesaid, and on the Solemn Oath taken on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and Saith: That her said Husband was rightfully owner of a House and Lot, and about Six Acres of Meadow Ground in Lebanon aforesaid; That she and the Children of the said Nicholas Housseger have been dispossessed of the house and the same sold by Congress by reason of her said Husband having taken Arms in Support of the King's Authority in America. That the said House and Land were Worth when her Husband left the same at least one thousand one hundred and thirty-six Pounds Sterling.

her
"ELIZABETH X HOUSSEGER.
mark.

"Sworn and subscribed Before me, the Day and year aforesaid.

"JNO. GLONINGER."

To this is affixed an affidavit by John Gradin, a Justice of the Peace of Louisburg (now Harrisburg), to the fact that the said John Gloninger is a duly appointed Judge of the Court.

From the foregoing official documents it will be seen that Colonel Houssacker died some time prior to 1786, where is not stated, and that his widow then made application to the British Government to be reimbursed for the value of her husband's property, which had been seized and sold by the authorities of the State of Pennsylvania. Whether her petition was successful and some compensation was made to her for her losses, I do not know. But as commissioners were appointed to adjudicate the claims of loyalists arising out of their adherence to the British crown, it is probable she was repaid a portion of the loss sustained.

The Society's Annual Outing.

On Friday, June 29, the Lancaster County Historical Society took its annual outing. Heretofore it has gone north and south, but on Friday it took its way westward, the objective point being the State Capital, Harrisburg. The start was made in the 9:45 train that which goes by the way of Columbia and the river road. Why the excursionists were sent by that route is not known, but it proved to be indescribably dusty, as well as tedious, which also led to some inconvenience at Harrisburg.

A separate car was provided for the excursionists, and when the hour of starting came along the following members and others reported: Dr. R. K. Buehrle, Miss Elizabeth Mansteter, William Riddle, Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Dr. J. W. Houston, Miss Stella Oster, George Steinman, Miss Martha B. Clark, Mr. E. Billingfelt, Miss Custer, F. R. Diffenderffer, Mrs. F. R. Diffenderffer, Mrs. Martha Connell, Miss Virginia Clark, Mrs. Martin, Miss Hoover, Mrs. J. L. Steinmetz, Hawthorne Steinmetz, Mrs. Daniel Ermentrout, Mrs. James D. Landis, Mrs. Alexander, Mrs. A. V. Hurst, Mr. Thos. H. Baumgardner, Miss Sue Holbrook, Mrs. A. K. Hostetter, Mr. A. K. Hostetter, Master Harry Hostetter, Mr. Samuel Hartman, Miss Ida Ream,Miss Clara Ream, Dr. M. L. Chadman, Mrs. Dr. Chadman, Prof. T. G. Helm, Mrs. Grace Helm, Dr. J. F. Mentzer, Mrs. Mentzer, D. B. Landis, S. R. Weaver, Esq., Mrs. Weaver, Mrs. Graybill

Long, Miss Anna M. Haus, Ivan H. Mentzer, Mrs. Mary Shertz, Mrs. M. L. Robinson, Mrs. Dr. Carpenter, Walter Boardman, Mr. A. C. Kepler, Miss Mary Kepler, Mr. Alexander, Mrs. T. B. Holahan, Mrs. V. G. Hornberger, Mrs. Franklin Tobias, Miss Elizabeth Shertz, Mrs. L. B. Herr, L. B. Herr, Jr., Prof. J. Darmstatter, G. F. K. Erisman, Miss Laura Slaymaker and Mrs. Altick, in all a full car load.

Upon arriving at Harrisburg the excursionists made their way to the State Library. Unfortunately, the State Librarian was away, attending a convention of librarians somewhere, and the party roamed through the literary treasure-house at will.

Governor Pennypacker, who was to give a reception and make an address, had returned from attending the Bar Association at Bedford and was in the executive chambers. Unfortunately, the delay in arriving at Harrisburg had so delayed the visitors, and the Governor, having to leave the city at a certain time, which was nearly at hand, all speeches on the part of the excursionists and the Governor were cut out and only the reception carried out. The visitors had gathered in the reception room awaiting the completion of some routine business by the Governor, at the conclusion of which they were ushered into his private office in a procession, two by two, and personally introduced to Governor Pennypacker by Secretary Diffenderffer. Each shook the Chief Magistrate of the State by the hand, spoke or were spoken to, and passed out of the room, and the reception was over.

It being already 12 o'clock,the dusty travelers at once took their way to the Commonwealth Hotel, to rid themselves of the accumulations of dust

and dirt gathered by the way and to partake of a bounteous and eminently satisfactory dinner which had been ordered in advance.

An hour at the tables rested the pilgrims, and they then went out in search of new sights and adventures.

The Dauphin County Historical Society had thrown open their fine room with its valuable collections to the visitors, and a long time was spent in examining the fine collection of portraits, pictures,manuscripts and curios in the room. It deserves to be stated that the Commissioners of Dauphin county have not only given this society a permanent home in the Court House, but have, in addition, put into the room a splendid set of furniture, chairs, tables, stands and racks, all of polished oak, in which the treasures of the Society are securely placed and easily to be seen. The furnishings of the room cost nearly a thousand dollars, the entire expense having been assumed by the County Commissioners. It was a generous recognition by the Commissioners of the value of such organizations to a community, and the Society's room and its collections have become one of the show places at Harrisburg.

At this point the pilgrims took their way in various directions. A majority wended their way to the new Capitol building, whilst others, with other ends in view, went over the city. The new Capitol fully met the expectations of the visitors. Although the finishing touches still remain to be put on, the essential work has been finished. It is a grand structure, grand in its design and its execution, surpassing the idea that had been formed concerning it. The only criticism heard was relative to what was regarded as

over-ornamentation, which prevails almost everywhere, especially in the gold and glitter so conspicuous in the chambers of the Senate and House of Representatives. On the whole, it is a building of surpassing beauty, worthy of the great State of Pennsylvania, and the marvel of it all is that it will be finished within the appropriation of $4,000,000.

A visit was also paid to the Department of Archives, in the basement of the Library building, in charge of Mr. L. R. Kelker, the archivist. Here pains were taken to show and explain to the visitors the most modern methods of repairing, renovating and preserving the old papers and documents which have been accumulated during two hundred years. Where once only confusion and chaos reigned supreme, only order and regularity now prevail. The Department is in excellent condition and has been doing splendid work during the few years of its existence.

By this time the modern Pennsylvania pilgrims were weary and began making their ways in groups to the railroad depot, whence, by various trains, they were quickly carried to their homes. The outing of 1906 was an unqualified success, in spite of the hottest June day in thirteen years.

F. R. D.

Minutes of September Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 7, 1906.

The Lancaster County Historical Society opened the season of 1906-1907 by holding its September meeting to-night (Friday) in its new quarters, in the A. Herr Smith Library Building, on North Duke street, in the large parlor on the first floor. President Steinman occupied the chair. The new meeting room of the Society is admirably adapted to its present purposes. It is commodious, and will seat over fifty persons. The book-cases of the Society have been arranged around the room, and the walls are hung with handsome oil paintings, the whole presenting the air of a place given to such uses as it will now be devoted to.

The minutes of the June meeting having already been presented to the Society, they were not called for at this time. The election of new mem- elected. The applications of Miss H. bers being in order, Hon. Eugene G. Smith,of Lancaster, and Mr.W. L. Hershey, of Marietta, whose names were presented at the June meeting, were Ida Sprecher, of Lancaster, and Mr. F. P. D'Miller were offered. Under the rules, they lie over until the October meeting for further action.

Under the head of reports of officers, Librarian Sener reported the following donations to the library: Fifteen volumes of a statistical character; histories of the 106th and 121st and the Bucktail Regiments of Pennsylvania Volunteers; Pennsylvania at Antietam, from the State Library; Proceedings of the Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1905; Canadian Year

Book for 1906; Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1904; Souvenir Post Card Album, from W. A. Kelker, Harrisburg; map of Lancaster county, published in 1860, from Mr. A. K. Hostetter; an old vendue notice of 1786, presented by Mr. Chas. E. Long, and various exchanges. The thanks of the Society were presented to these various donors for their contributions to the Society's collections. The Lehigh Historical Society was placed on the list of exchanges.

Vice President Dubbs, in a brief address, congratulated the Society on the change of its quarters, and referred especially to the handsome appearance of the room and its location on the first floor, rendering it easy of access.

The Secretary stated that the Publication Committee had deemed it proper to issue the able and valuable historical address of ex-Attorney General Hensel before the State Bar Association in an extra number of the proceedings of the Society. The address will be accompanied by half a dozen portraits of the "Great Commoner," Thaddeus Stevens, who is the subject of it. In the absence of the author, who was called away to fill a prior engagement, portions of Mr. Hensel's address were read by Richard M. Reilly, Esq., to the apparent satisfaction of the large audience.

Mr. A. K. Hostetter read a short paper, entitled, "The Last One." It was a description of the only remaining fulling mill in Lancaster county—the one on Cocalico creek, owned and operated by Mr. John K. Zook. At one time there were as many as twenty-five of these mills in operation in this county, but they have all disappeared. The paper was full of interesting details, and was followed by a long and interesting discussion

on the old fulling mills by Dr. Houston, Dr. Dubbs, Mr. Hostetter, Dr. Buehrle and others,which brought out much valuable information.

Another short paper, prepared by Secretary Diffenderffer and read by S. M. Sener, Esq., related to Colonel Nicholas Houssacker, of the patriot army, who deserted to the British at the battle of Princeton. It was shown that Houssacker was originally a tailor, residing at Lebanon, became a Colonel in the Revolution, deserted, and his property confiscated. His widow applied to Great Britain for reimbursement of the losses sustained.

The thanks of the Society were extended to the writers of the various papers read, and, on motion, they were ordered to be printed in the Society's Proceedings.

After the close of the usual exercises, light refreshments were offered to all present, and another half-hour was spent in pleasant social intercourse, after which the members dispersed to their homes. The attendance was the largest the Society has seen this year, the presence of an unusual number of ladies being a special feature. The Society is in a very flourishing condition, and fully deserves the encouragement it has thus far received.

A Day Off.

Twenty-one members of the Lancaster County Historical Society on Thursday went to the city of Reading as the guests of their sister society of Berks county. Twice previously invitations had been received from the Reading organization, but for various reasons could not be accepted. It almost looked as if the third invitation would also end in failure, as Thursday morning broke with rain that threatened to continue the entire day. The weather conditions prevented many from going who had announced their intention to do so, but they failed to make their appearance at the appointed hour.

The Adamstown trolley car which left the Square at nine o'clock in the morning bore the visiting excursionists away. Despite the rain, everybody was in good mood, and the ride between Lancaster and Ephrata was quickly and pleasantly made. The route from the latter place and Adamstown was less familiar to most of the tourists and revealed a very attractive portoin of our grand old county. A number of small places lie along the route, tne principal one being the old and well-built village of Reamstown.

Between Adamstown and Reading the road for the most part forsook the regular highways and cut across lots through a country that was at once picturesque and attractive. Mohnsville, Shillington, and several other places of note were passed before Reading was reached.

Upon the arrival of the visitors at Reading, the car that carried them

was boarded by a number of members of the local society, and, without a change of cars, the visitors were carried through the city to the Mineral Spring Hotel, located in one of the cosiest mountain nooks about Reading.

At this point a considerable number of the members of the Berks county society were in waiting or soon made their appearance. The members of the Berks County Society in attendance were: Louis Richards,Esq., President; Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Owen, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Miller, Dr. and Mrs. C. R. Scholl, Miss Clara Briner, Mrs. Emily Kutz, Dr. Clara S. Keiser, Mr. and Mrs. William White, ex-Mayor T. P. Merritt, Judge G. A. Endlich, ex-Congressman S. E. Ancona, Dr. Geo. G. Wenrich, William D. Smith, H. H. Hernan and Alfred S. Jones.

In due season the luncheon hour was announced, when the entire company was ushered into the spacious dining room, where upwards of fifty persons sat down to the most inviting dinner in the society's history, and to which ample justice was done.

But even good dinners have their end, and so, too, had this one. Immediately thereafter the party entered a car in waiting and began the ascent to Mt. Penn, the lofty elevation that overlooks the entire city of Reading and the country beyond far into Lancaster county. Unquestionably the view from this lofty summit is one of the finest in the State. The trolley road runs by the very edge of the abrupt cliff that towers perhaps 1,000 feet above the city, affording a view of individual houses and parks, which were lying immediately below. The rain was over, but there was more or less dimness in the atmosphere that somewhat impaired the clearness of the splendid view usually to be had.

The road up and down the mountain is about four and a half miles long, and there is perhaps no more romantic trolley ride in the State. For the most part it runs through wooded country, but here and there are cleared areas of greater or less extent,with farm houses and orchards and cornfields. The ascent is, of course, made with the aid of electric power, but the downward ride is by gravity alone,the long winding character of the road allowing of a descent in that way. The scenery and general surroundings were the theme of constant admiration and remark during the entire ride.

In due time Penn Square was again reached, and a little walk took the visitors to the home of the Berks County Historical Society, where the visitors registered and inspected the cosy quarters, library and curios of the local society. For a time the society was given a meeting room in the Court House, but later were crowded out. Then a subscription paper was prepared, and forty-five persons put their names down for $100 each, and that sum, together with some funds owned by the society, sufficed to buy the place where it is now domiciled.When will Lancaster's forty-five come to the front for a home for the local society.

A short visit was also made to the Reading Public Library, which is now housed in a fine building, and from the rather meagre situation in which it found itself ten years ago, has now become an imposing and attractive collection of books, with its clerks and large number of visitors.

"All aboard" rang out from the president of the trolley road, who had held up the car some minutes in order to give all an opportunity to see the library, and then the homeward run

was begun. Lancaster was reached in due time and one of the most enjoyable days our home society has ever spent was over.

The consideration and courtesies of the Berks County Society to the visitors were beyond all praise, and will never be forgotten by them.

F. R. D.

H. Rudisill

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER 5, 1906.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

GERMANS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

MINUTES OF THE OCTOBER MEETING.

VOL. X. NO. 9.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1906.

Germans in Pennsylvania. 325
By Dr. R. M. Bolenius.

Minutes of the October Meeting. 350

Germans in Pennsylvania.

For the past few months I have been very much interested in reading a number of German authors on the Germans in Pennsylvania, and I would like to impress upon you that to-night it is just 223 years since the first German settlers came up the Delaware towards Philadelphia.

In a short editorial in the Daily New Era of August 10th, this year, was mentioned the fact that the Germans of New Britain, Connecticut, had met in a mass convention on the sixth of August to celebrate the 223d anniversary of the founding of the German settlement at Germantown, under the leadership of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the poet, scholar, schoolmaster and historian. The editorial concluded with a pertinent remark that such a celebration seems to "remind the Germans nearer Germantown that certain obligations also rest upon them." A great deal has been written about the Germans in Pennsylvania, but there still remain a number of facts that could be presented from the side of the Germans. For a scholarly presentation of the early German emigration and settlements, I would refer to a work by Anton Eickhoff, entitled: 'Die Deutschen in Pennsylvanien, oder Anfang der Auswanderung nach America." While a student in Germany, prior to the union of the different kingdoms, I found the dialects different in every section. In Bielefeldt, Westphalia,

where I had the pleasure of learning my German and attending the gymnasium for a period of three years, I found that within a circle of ten miles the peasants spoke Platt Deutsch (low German), while the citizens in the town used high German. At Porta, Westphalia, and Hanover, a third dialect was used, somewhat a modification of the Berliner dialect.

Quakers and Mennonites.

Before 1683, the few Germans who sought their fortunes in America had broken off their association with the Fatherland, founded no settlements, and thus remained an accidental element in the foreign population. There came an end, however, to this indifference on the part of the Germans, and there began a movement which resulted in the migration to America of millions of Germans. It was the culmination of religious motives, of the desire for freedom of speech, and of the personal appearance in Germany of William Penn, a few years before his investiture of Pennsylvania. Three confessions only were acknowledged in the German Staat: Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed. The Mennonites were very numerous in the western part and in Switzerland. They had to be handled with great care. In 1647 Quakers were dispatched to Holland and Germany to make land propositions. They worked chiefly among the Mennonites, and won a number of followers, particularly in Luebeck, Emden, Hamburg, Crefeld in the Pfalz, in Freiderichstadt belonging to Denmark, and in Danzig under the Polnisch administration. Penn was very active in spreading Quaker teachings on the continent, traveling through Holland and Germany in 1671 and again in 1677.

Penn's Grant.

When Charles II. gave Penn the grant of "Pennsylvania" to cancel a debt, William Penn published a short account of the new province, which was immediately translated in Germany under the title: "Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft in Pennsylvanien in America," printed in Amsterdam in 1681 by Christopher Conraden, published in Frankford, A. M., in 1683. Then followed Penn's personal appearance to promote emigration. Francis Daniel Pastorius, as agent of the Frankfurter Land Association, became very enthusiastic over these publications, and informed his many friends, as he could no longer keep the secret, that they had purchased 15,000 acres of land in the far-off Western hemisphere. Some decided to depart immediately with their families and all their goods to Pennsylvania. This was the beginning of the Frankfurter Land Association,which acquired by purchase three parts of 5,000 acres each, in all over 25,000 acres of land. The members of this association at the beginning were Dr. Schuetz, Jacob von der Walle, Casper Merian, Wilhelm Uberfeldt, Daniel Behagel, all of Frankfurt, A. M., and George Stausz, Johann Laurentz and Abraham Hasevoet; later some changes were made, in which Pastorius took the place of Uberfeldt.

The Germantown Settlement.

The first emigrants from Crefeld in the Pfalz were principally of the Mennonite persuasion. The names of the thirteen foremost families were Dirck, Abraham and Herman Op den Graeff, Lenert Arets,Tuenes Kunders, Reinert Tisen, Wilhelm Streopers, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Simens, Johann Bleikers, Abraham Tuenes and Jan

Luecken, nearly all related to each other. Among them were laborers, farmers, linen weavers and drovers. They purchased from William Penn about 18,000 acres of land. Benjamin Furly, Penn's agent in Rotterdam, arranged with a merchant in London for the transportation of the Crefelders in the ship "Concord," at a cost of £5 for adults and half price for children under twelve years. They sailed from Gravesend July 23, 1683. The trip was long but satisfactory. October 6 they reached Philadelphia, in good condition, with a few more passengers than when they started. Pastorius had already preceded the Crefelders, and reached Philadelphia August 20, of the same year.

In the beginning of October, 1683, under the leadership of Pastorius, they began to erect buildings about six miles from Philadelphia. This they called "Die Deutsche Stadt" (Germantown). Pastorius says: "Und mag, weder genung, beschrieben, noch von denen vermoeglichern Nachkoemmlingen geglaubt werden, in was Mangel und Armuth, aubey mit welch einer christlichen Vergnueglichkeit und unermuedetem Fleisz, diese Germantownship begunnen sei" (there can not be enough said, nor believed, by the rich posterity, in what want and poverty, and at the same time with what a Christian spirit and indefatigable diligence, this Germantownship has been begun).

Early Industries.

In the year 1691 Germantown was organized as a town. The Germans held the offices of chief burgess, councillors and justices until about 1707; Pastorius was the first bailiff. They had their own seal, consisting of a three-leaf clover, with a bunch of grapes in one petal, a flax blossom in

another, and a spool of thread in the third. On the seal was the motto: "Vinum, Linum, et Textrinum," which went to prove that they wished to support the town by the production of wine, the raising of flax and weaving, with the help of God and their own honor. The town became famous for its industries. The first paper mill upon the continent was established at Germany by William Rittinghausen in the year 1690, and afterward successfully carried on by his son, Nicholas. Should an inquiry have been made at that time whether the German pioneers brewed lager beer in their settlement, the answer would have been "yes." From the minutes of the town councils of Germantown we learn that as early as 1696 Peter Keurlis (one of the first settlers) brewed a considerable quantity of beer to be used at the annual market festival (Kirchmis),and a judicious ordinance passed by the town council at that time prohibited the saloonkeepers (den Wirthen) from selling to any one person more than one quart of beer twice daily. That was a moderate beginning.

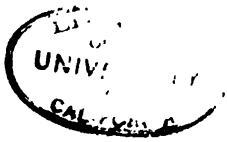
Persecutions in the Palatinate.

The settlers from Germany had scarcely been shown the way to Pennsylvania when religious disturbances began in Pfalz and in Germany proper. Towns were burned to ashes, among which were Heidelberg,Speier,Worms, Kreusnach, Mannheim; the country afforded them no protection and foreigners no sympathy. Yet in 1742 the Rev. Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg announced to his astonishment that the persecuted religious sects in Germany had gained an advantage. He wrote to Halle, Germany, "that there was no religious sect in the world that would not be cared for in America; what would not be allowed

in Europe would be allowed in America." (See Hallische Nachrichten, page 17.) The printer, Christopher Saur, also announced in his paper that Pennsylvania was a country of such magnificence that no man had ever heard of its equal, and that all who sought a new home free from religious persecutions or restrictions of government should come to the colonists in Eastern Pennsylvania.

Redemptioners.

The early German settlers usually paid their fares and purchased the land on which they settled; but as emigration increased, the "Deutschen Handel" began and contracts were made to land in this country the emigrants who were too poor to pay their fares. These persons, called redemptioners, were placed in servitude and sold to "the highest bidder" in the following way: The list of emigrants, with the accredited amount of expense to each, was sent to the merchants before the sale. Before the ship cast anchor, it was examined by the port physician for contagious and infectious diseases. Then the passengers were marched in procession to the Provincial House, where they paid their respects, after which they were returned to the ship. Notice was published in the paper that so many Germans were to be sold for their passage and expenses. The ship was the market place. The buyer picked out the emigrant that pleased him, brought him before the salesman, paid his fare and other expenses, then took him before a Magistrate to sign an agreement of service in proportion to the amount paid for his release. The young, single persons were, as a rule, chosen first; old persons were not so much in demand. Where they had



good health, however, the expenses of the parents were often added to those of the children,who would consequently have to serve so much longer, and, therefore, brought better prices.

Some of the announcements of the newspapers in reference to purchasable help read as follows:

"German Arrivals.

"Philadelphia, Nov. 9, 1764.

"To-day the ship Boston, Capt. Matthaeus Carr, arrived here from Rotterdam, with about 100 Germans, among whom are all kinds of mechanics, day-laborers, and young people, both male and female, also boys and girls. All persons desiring to see or to purchase any of the same, should call on David Rundel, Front Street, Philadelphia."

Here is another:

"Germans.

"There are fifty or sixty Germans who arrived recently from Germany stopping at the Widow Kreider's, at the Golden Swan. Among them are two school-teachers, mechanics, farmers, also children, both boys and girls. They desire to bind themselves over for the amount due on their fares and expenses."—(See Penna. Staatsbote, Jan. 18, 1774.)

"To be Sold.

"A likely servant woman, having three and one-half years to serve; she is a good spinner."—(See Penna. Gazette, 1742.)

"To be Sold.

"A Dutch apprentice lad, who has five years, three months to serve; he has been brought up in the tailoring business, can work well."—(See Penna. Staatsbote, Dec. 14, 1773.)

Pastorius was earnest in his oppo

sition to slavery, and at a time when in Massachusetts they were selling Indians and white people of other creeds, to be sent to Barbados, he wrote the following famous protest of 1688, in German:

"Allermassen ungebuehrlich,
Ist der Handel dieser Zeit,
Das ein Mensch so unnatuerlich,
Andre drueckt mit Diensbarkeit,
Ob er wohl ein Sklav moecht sein,
Ohne Zweifel wird er sagen;
Ach bewahr'mich Gott; Nein, Nein!"

(Translation.)

Since unbecoming
Is the traffic of these times,
For a person so unnatural and so rude
To press others into servitude.
As if he wished to be a slave,
Undoubtedly he would say, though,
Protect me, God! Alas, No! No!

On the 18th day of April, 1688, Gerhard Hendricks, Dick Op den Graeff, Francis Daniel Pastorius and Abraham Op den Graeff sent to the Friends Quarterly meeting the first protest ever made on this continent against the holding of slaves.

Not Uneducated.

He who imagines that the German settlers were an uneducated peasantry is very much in error. In the year 1738, the older Saur (who was also a pharmacist) founded in Germantown a printing and publishing establishment (Verlagsbuchhandlung), where over 150 books were printed. Other German printing establishments existed before the Revolutionary War, in Philadelphia, Ephrata and Lancaster, but Christopher Saur was the first in America to print with the German text. He was not the first to print German books; Benjamin Franklin had that honor, but he used Roman characters (antiqua schrift).

Christopher Saur, the elder (his son and grandson had the same prenomen), was born in Laasphe, in Wittgensteinschen, in the year 1693. He is

said to have graduated from a university in Marburg, after which he spent five years in the medical dispensary in Halle, where he obtained the medical education of which he made practical use throughout the rest of his life. In 1724, with his wife and three-year-old son, he came to Pennsylvania. Probably induced by his friendship for Conrad Beisel, the preacher and musician, who in 1725 had established at Ephrata the sect of Seventh Day Baptists, popularly, but incorrectly, known as the Dunkards or Amish, he moved to Ephrata, where he remained for six years, after which he returned to Germantown in 1731. Being a man of means, he purchased a large tract of land, upon which he erected a mansion of size sufficient that by the aid of a movable partition it might be used by him as a place of worship on Sunday and as a hospital for the sick, when so needed. Saur was so actively interested in pharmacy that, on hearing that a vessel containing passengers had arrived from Germany, he and his neighbors often obtained vehicles and hastened to the landing place, where they took those who were ill to his house and there he treated them medically, nursed and supported them until they were convalescent. He was a man of great ingenuity, capable of doing much for the colonies. Although he was a pharmacist by trade, not a printer, he obtained an outfit for printing from friends in Halle, and set it up in his house in Germantown in 1738. Here he printed for the first time "The High German American Calendar," which appeared annually until the year 1778. The next year, 1739, he received a very important order from his Ephrata friend, Beisel, to print German Church Song Books for the Brotherhood at Ephrata Cloister, the

title being, "Zionitscher Weyrauchs-Huegel, oder Myrrhen Berg." When he enlarged the printing establishment, he conceived the idea of printing a Bible for the Germans in America, as well as in Pennsylvania. This book, of 1,272 pages, was published in the summer of 1743, in Luther's translation. The preface says it is "the first edition of this book in the German script published in the Western Hemisphere." Later editions appeared in 1763 and 1776. Besides these, Saur printed the New Testament and Psalms in a number of editions. In 1742 he published for the Mennonites and Dunkards religious song books, also in 1762 for the Schwenkfelders, in 1752 for the German Reformed, and in 1770 for the Lutherans. In 1739 appeared the first secular and religious newspaper in America, of which we shall speak later

The Saur Printing House.

The Saurs, father and son, probably contributed more to the spiritual and intellectual upbuilding of the Germans than any other two men in America. The history of their unselfish labors is most entertaining reading. Saur, the elder, invented portable or six-plate box stoves, even before Franklin's iron fireplaces were made. He also made tall, eight-day, "grandfather" clocks. But, although he was a typemaker, paper and inkmaker, printer, bookbinder, stovemaker, clockmaker and voluminous writer, yet it can be said that none of these was his profession, but pharmacy, or medicine. Christopher Saur, the son, educated at Christopher Dock's famous Mennonite school, became bishop of the Dunkard Church in 1753. In 1752 the son, in addition to his clerical duties, took active part in the printing business, and prepara-

tion of medicines. In 1758 his father was summoned to a court-martial by General Forbes, for attempting to denounce the expedition to Fort Duquesne. The old man promptly met the General at an inn, "The Stag," on Lancaster street, Philadelphia, and in three minutes proved to him that he was not an enemy of the King, because war was an enemy of the Saviour. In the same year Saur, the elder, died (in 1758), and Bishop Saur and his son, the third Christopher, represented the family. For refusing to take the oath to the American cause, during the Revolution, when their religion taught "swear not at all," Bishop Saur and his son, suspected by the Continental army of being spies, had all their printing and publishing establishment, private houses, paper mill confiscated, and the old Bishop was left a penniless man. It was only through the intervention of General Muhlenberg that his life was spared. His own pathetic account of this injustice and persecution can be found in his own handwriting in a manuscript in the possession of Mrs. Mary Knauer, daughter of Samuel Saur, of Charlestown, Chester county, Pennsylvania. It has recently been published in a pamphlet containing the address made at the presentation of a tablet in memory of Christopher Saur, father and son, to the Church of the Brethren in Germantown, January 1, 1889.

Printing at Ephrata and Elsewhere.

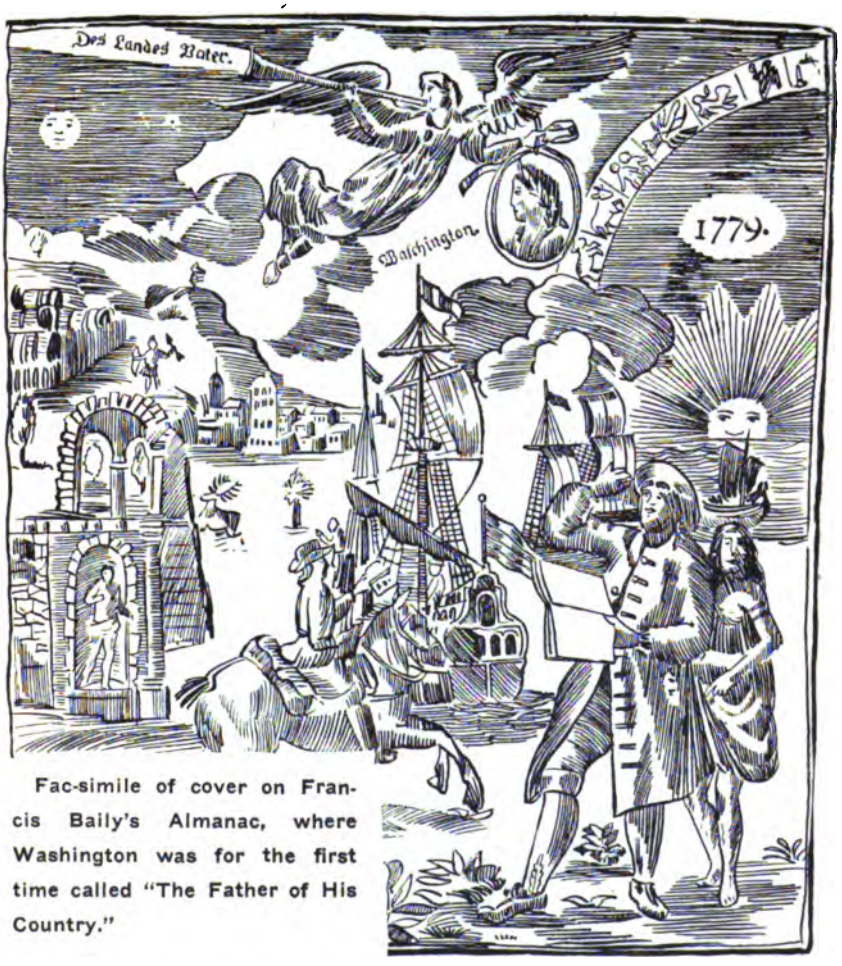
In the meantime printing had begun in other towns. In Ephrata, the Kloister press did printing on a large scale. It began in 1745. In 1747 they published "Das Gesang der Einsamen und Verlassene Turteltaube" (the song of the lonely and lost turtledove), in which appeared the mystic musings on spiritual love. For the

Mennonites they printed "Das blutige Schauplatz, oder Martyrsspiegel," a folio of 1,514 pages, the largest book produced in America during the century.

The First German Newspapers.

The first German newspaper had been started in Germantown by Saur, the elder, under the voluminous title: "Der Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber, oder Sammlung-wichtiger Nachrichten aus der Natur-und-Kirchen-Reich." This paper continued in existence, though the name changed in 1745 and 1762. In 1743, Joseph Crell started a German newspaper in Philadelphia, but was unsuccessful. He was succeeded in 1746 by Gotthard Armbruester, who had associated with him his younger brother, Anton, and John Boehm in 1749. These last two were employed at different times by Benjamin Franklin in his German business department. In 1755 Franklin and Boehm published a German newspaper called "Philadelphia Zeitung," which in 1760 came into the hands of Peter Miller and Ludwig Weisz. Of still greater importance as a printer, however, was Herrnhuter Heinrich Miller, who settled in Philadelphia in 1760. As far back as 1743, in company with Graff Zinzendorff, he had visited America. He was a printer of reputation in Germany (Marienburg) and in London. From 1760 on, for about twenty years, he was recognized as the most prominent printer and publisher in Philadelphia. In 1762 he established the "Philadelphia Staatsboten." When he moved to Bethlehem he turned his printing business over to Melchoir Steiner and Carl Cist. In 1786 Cist founded the "Columbia Magazine" and in 1781 Steiner printed the "Philadelphia Weekly Correspondence," which became, in

1709, the "New Philadelphia Correspondence." About the middle of the eighteenth century German printing was begun in Lancaster, Reading and Easton. In Lancaster, about 1751, a paper



Fac-simile of cover on Francis Baily's Almanac, where Washington was for the first time called "The Father of His Country."

in German and English was published by Miller and Holland. In 1778 "Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungsblatt" ap-

peared, published by F. Bailey. Also "Der Gans Neue Verbesserte Nord Americanischer Calendar," published in 1779, in Lancaster, by Francis Bailey. Its special historical interest arises from the fact that the winged allegorical figure of Fame, seen in the upper part, holds in one of her hands a medallion of Washington, while in the other she has a horn, from which a blast is blown, with the legend "Des Landes Vater." This is the first recorded instance where the designation of "Father of his Country" was given to Washington. Albrecht & Co. published "Die Unpartheische Lancaster Zeitung," which in 1798 took the monstrous title of "Der Deutsche Porcupine." In Reading, about 1789, edited by Johnson, Barton & Jungman, appeared the paper called "Die neue unparteischen Readinger Zeitung," which had a short life. In 1796 appeared "Der Reading Adler;" through its great popularity this paper acquired the nickname of "der Bible von Berks county."

When General Howe, after the battle of Brandywine, took possession of Philadelphia, the printers, Miller, Steiner and Cist, hastily left the city and did not return until after the departure of the British; on the contrary, the Saurs, father and son, holding their peculiar scruples about war, remained in the city and continued their printing.

German Taught in the University.

In 1773 Pastor Kunze founded in Philadelphia a German Seminary, with a preparatory department, but the outbreak of the war nipped it in the bud. In 1780, when Kunze was called to the curatorium (guardianship) of the University of Pennsylvania, he advocated that the German students in the classics should receive their instruc-

tion in German, and for this purpose such an instructor be appointed. Minister Kunze himself was the first to hold the position of Professor of German in the University. When he was called to New York in 1784, Rev. Helmuth became his successor. The report which he sent to Halle, Germany, concerning the advancement of German education in Philadelphia was very sanguine. In reference to the celebration held September 20, 1784, he said: "To-day we celebrated our actus-oratorius among our Germans, the first of its kind held in America. We were honored by the presence of the entire Assembly, the city magistrates, the entire faculty, and the German Association of the city. The German Association furnished the music, interspersed between the addresses, which were in prose and poetry." He further reported that his division contained sixty German students, and was larger than the English department. According to the records of the University, the number of German students in the following year, 1786, was only 54; and in 1787 only 6. What caused this sudden falling off? In 1782 Helmuth had written to Dr. Freylinghausen, in Halle, Germany: "I think that Philadelphia has become more like a German city than an English one." Twenty years later he was forced to add: "If only the Germans had remained Germans." The absorption of the Germans by the English had already begun. Throughout the State, however, they retained a stronger hold, for Germantown, Lancaster, Reading, York, Bethlehem and Allentown kept the German element.

Franklin College Chartered.

The cause of this sudden falling off of German students was probably due

to the chartering, in 1786, of the "Deutsche Hohe und Freie Schule," which took the name of Franklin College. It was located in Lancaster, and Helmuth became one of its ardent supporters. The following studies were named in the charter: "High German, English, Latin, Greek and other learned languages, Theology,and other profitable and learned Sciences and Fine Arts." Benjamin Franklin, at that time President of the Supreme Council of Pennsylvania, laid the corner-stone. The State gave the building and a donation or 10,000 acres of land. Prof. A. L. Schloezer published in the German Staatsanzeiger the charter and also the address delivered by Rev. Helmuth,in which he made use of the expression that the "Germans were retrograding." These few words seem to have thrown cold water on Franklin College. It was hard to convince the people of the necessity of supporting a classical institution. The State abandoned the "Hohe Schule," as the Germans were not willing to put their hands deep enough in their pockets to secure its continuance. Thus, for a number of years, Franklin College declined, until, in 1821, it had practically no students. The professors of the institution were principally ministers, as Henry E. Muhlenberg, Wilhelm Haendel, F. V. Melsheimer, J. Ch. W. Reichenbach and Henry Hutchins. In the meantime the building was used for school purposes, and the charter and land donation of the college were continued, until, as you are aware, in 1853, Franklin and Marshall colleges were united.

The Muhlenbergs.

In speaking of the part the Germans of Pennsylvania took in the Revolution, we must not lose track of a few

persons who had great influence among the Germans. Among these was the whole Muhlenberg family—John Gabriel Peter Muhlenberg, the fighting preacher; his brother, Frederic A., twice elected Speaker of the House of the First and Third Congresses (798),and the head of the German Alliance for ten years; and the younger brother, Gotthilf Henry Ernest, minister of the Lutheran Church here in Lancaster, and an enthusiastic student of botany (often called the "American Linnaeus"). In conjunction with Prof. B. J. Schipper, of Franklin Academy, he published an English-German and German-English dictionary, with a German grammar and principles of pronunciation for both languages, in two volumes, printed in Lancaster by William Hamilton, in 1812, a copy of which I have in my library.

Baker Ludwig.

Another splendid figure was Christopher Ludwig, who settled in Philadelphia, as a baker, in 1754. He became very much interested in the cause of Independence, was made a member of many Revolutionary committees, and, from the place where he had his bakery, he was nicknamed the "Governor of Laetitia Court." At a meeting held in Philadelphia, in 1776, a proposition to collect money for the purchase of arms threw the members into a tiresome debate. While they were dillydallying over the question, Ludwig stepped forward and remarked: "Mr. President, I am only a poor ginger-bread baker, but put my name down for £200." That settled the dispute. At the close of the Congress, May 3, 1777, the same Christopher Ludwig was made General Overseer-Baker for the Army, and as

such proved himself more honorable than his predecessors. They delivered for 100 pounds of flour 100 pounds of bread, and more was not expected of Ludwig. He, however, expressed himself thus: "I do not desire to become rich through the war, and, as 100 pounds of flour will bake 135 pounds of bread, I propose to deliver the goods." The cunning bakers that preceded him did not estimate the weight of the water taken up by the flour, and the inspectors were either too ignorant or too careless to uncover the fraud. Washington often invited Ludwig to his table and was wont to call him his "conscientious friend."

Henry Wilhelm Stiegel.

Prior to the Revolution the disturbances which traffic and trade had suffered through the tyrranizing manner of the British Ministry brought about an untimely end to all industry. A very eccentric character at that time was Heinrich Wilhelm Stiegel, who came to America in 1757, and the following year purchased in Lancaster county a one-third interest of 714 acres of land, the other two-thirds being taken by Karl and Alexander Stedman. Upon this land Stiegel founded Manheim, and in the neighborhood started iron foundries and glass works. He was the first to manufacture flint glass in America. Besides these industries, he established the Elizabeth Forge, in the northern part of Lancaster county, and Charming Forge, in Berks county, about five miles from Womelsdorf. For quite a while he succeeded well. His glass works in Manheim are supposed to have brought him an annual revenue of £5,000. Therefore, he could live like a lord. His residence in Manheim was most extravagant and ele-

gant. Just beyond Manheim he also had a country residence, which he called a "Schloss," but his countrymen called it "Stiegel's Folly." It is said that when he had any visitors he would have them saluted by the firing of a cannon and received by a band of musicians of his own hirelings. Stiegel was one of the founders of the German Society of Philadelphia. Like many other Germans, he unfortunately went beyond his means, and, not being able to satisfy his creditors, had to sell a large part of his land to the Colemans. It is rumored that Coleman employed him in his iron foundries.

German Soldiers in the Revolution.

In the war the Germans were active. Those who could not serve in the army rendered financial aid. In Miller's "Staatsboten Zeitung" appeared requests for the Germans to stand up for independence, for they all knew how bitter the servitude was in Germany. As war became imminent, German military associations were formed in Philadelphia, were drilled and held meetings in the Lutheran school house. The Germans furnished a very large contingent, not only of soldiers, but of officers. On May 25, 1776, Congress approved the formation of an entire German Regiment, to which Pennsylvania and Maryland furnished each four companies. By July 17th, Pennsylvania had completed a regiment, commanded first by Col. Nicholas Housacker. In this regiment the grandfather of our Secretary, Mr. F. R. Diffenderffer, served as an enlisted volunteer under Captain David Wilbert, of Philadelphia. He was in many engagements. At the cannonading of Trenton, in 1777, when the Americans were

repulsed (he related it while blind in his ninety-first year to his grandson), he said that "I ran like a Hollander while the bullets whistled about my ears, and rattled like hail stones against the fence." He was taken prisoner in a skirmish at Monmouth, in 1777, and badly treated by the British, later exchanged and re-entered the army. The regiment was afterwards commanded by Baron von Arendt, and later by Col. Ludwig Weltner. December 1, 1776, this regiment joined Washington's army at Bristol, took part in the engagement at Trenton, and joined, in May, 1777, the brigade of Gen. Peter Muhlenberg. Later it was dispatched to protect the colonies on the Susquehanna from the Indians. Many Germans of Lancaster county served in the first Continental Regiment, commanded by Col. Philip de Haas. A very interesting circumstance arose in Reading. The younger element among the German population had organized three companies called "Citizen Guards" (Buergergarden). This made the gray-bearded old German settlers restless, so the old men raised a company of their own, called the Fourth Company. It consisted, says the German "Staatsbote," of about eighty High Germans from forty years upwards, many of them having been in service in Germany. The captain, who was ninety-seven years old, had been forty years in service in Germany, and had fought in seventeen European battles. The drummer boy was eighty-four, and others in proportion.

When the British took possession of Philadelphia, in spite of all protests, they confiscated all the material which the German Association had accumulated for the erection of a large German association hall, and used it to

build horse stables. The German clergy, who had taken a stand against the invaders, as Rev. F. A. Muhlenberg, Ernest H. Muhlenberg and Johan Friedrich Schmidt, decided it best to leave the city; several who had expressed themselves very decidedly were cast into prison. The unarmed religious sects, Mennonites, Dunkards, and Herrnhuten (a sect of Bohemian brethren founded by Count Zinzendorf), were put in a very precarious condition, for their religion forbade them not only taking active part, but contributing financial aid.

Not Pennsylvania "Dutch."

The descendants of the German settlers who colonized the interior (disdainfully and incorrectly called "Pennsylvania Dutch") had so many peculiarities that they were often taken for an odd species of American. Indeed, as early as 1789, Dr. Benjamin Rush had given in the "Columbia Magazine" a good character sketch of the Pennsylvania German. Yet they had excellent qualities. The system of farming which they followed, their magnificent barns, warm stables, unpretentious houses, with well-kept vegetable gardens; their well-fertilized and carefully-cultivated fields, luxuriant meadows and excellent live stock, these all show their simple and moderate way of living. Dr. Benjamin Rush also says that the Pennsylvania German not only taught his children to work, but led them to enjoy work, the wife and children helping, if necessary, behind the plow or in the harvest field.

Early Manners and Customs.

The gaiety of the Rheinische temperament has remained characteristic of the Pennsylvania Germans. It has

shown itself in their disposition to jest, in their teasing and joviality. The Harvest Home is for the "Buwe und Maed" a day of fun-making. The husking of the corn (welch-korn Baschte) gave in olden times much pleasure both to old and to young, as is told by H. L. Fisher, in the Pennsylvania-German dialect:

"Am Welchkorn-Baschte war's die Rule,
So bei die junge Leut,
Hat ein'n rothen Kolwe g'funne,
Dann hat'r a'h'n Schmuzer (Kuss) g'wunne
Vom Maedel bei d'r seit;
Die rothe Kolwe hen m'r g'schparrt,
Vor Soome (Samen)—'s war so'n gute Art."

(Translation.)

At husking of the corn it was the rule,
Among the younger set,
Had one found a red ear of corn in the shock
He had won a kiss from one of the flock,
The red ear was saved by the farmer's hand,
For seed, as it was such an excellent brand.

When they made cider, the same merriment prevailed:

"Un wann die Geig noch gange isch,
War'n ganze Nacht ken Ruhe,
D'r Seider hat uns ufgewacht,
Die Geig die hat uns danze g'macht,
In Schtiffel oder Schuh;
Wann Schuh und Schtiffel war v'rranzt,
Dann hen m'r in die Schtruemp gedanzt."

(Translation.)

And when the fiddle was sounding shrill,
No rest the live long night,
The cider woke us up again,
We danced till broad daylight,
In our boots and in our shoes,
When shoes and boots had lost their sole
We danced in our socks till it made a hole.

Perhaps some of us have seen the fun when they made apple-butter (latwerge). Butchering was another holiday, with its "metzelsuppe," of

panhaas, knackworst and lewerworst; Christmas another. with its "pelznickel." For the women, quilting parties were a favorite diversion. Of these the poet writes:

"Es war so'n druckne Paertie, g'macht
Von Weiber von d'r nachbarshaft—
Ken Mannskerl war dabei."

Marriages and baptisms were also celebrated. The tables were filled with "gerooschte welschhohner, gaens und hinkel," roasted "rueckmessel," "schunkefleisch" and saur kraut, "krumbeere," "schnitz und knepp," "aepfel schnitz und knoedel," savory pies, and everything else that belongs to a Pennsylvania-German bill of fare. Cider and wine were added to the feast. When all were satisfied, games and dances were enjoyed. The most popular games were "blinde kuh" or "blinde meisel" (blind man's buff) and "plumpsack," a game somewhat like our "drop the handkerchief."

"Dreht euch nicht um, der 'Plumpsack' geht 'rum—"

With permission of our Secretary, Mr. Frank R. Diffenderffer, I would quote the verse on his early school days in that log school house:

"Do bin ich ganga in die schul,
Wo ich noch war ganz kle;
Dort war der Meister in seim stuhl;
Dort war sei Whip, un' dort sei Ruhl—
Ich kans noch alles seh."*

The Pennsylvania Dialect.

As the southeastern counties of Pennsylvania contained such a large number of Germans, their descendants retained the language of the Fatherland, but as time rolled on this language assumed a peculiar coloring, and eventually became a dialect. "Pennsylvania German" has been the subject of derision. As early as 1788 Schoepf had designated it a "miser-

*From "Harbaugh's Harfe."

able hodge-podge of English and German;" on the other hand, philologists, like Haldeman and Ellis, did not question that it was an example of legitimate dialect-formations. No doubtPfaelzische dialect has been the foundation of the Pennsylvania German. It has, however, been slightly modified by the Swiss and Wirtemberger, who had settled near the colonists in Pennsylvania. Association with the English-speaking people led a large number of English words to be interchanged with German words. As a physician, with a number of Germans as my patrons, I cannot help but remark in passing that foreigners who come to Lancaster speaking High German, even the southern dialect, soon find it impossible to carry on a conversation in their native tongue without intermingling the English with the German, making the language a partial expression of the Pennsylvania German. As an example, I had an educated High German in my office recently. Asking me whether I could speak German, he began telling me his ailments, as follows: "Ich habe so viel pain in mein elbow, Ich habe plenty turpentine darauf gerubbed, aber es nimmt den pain nicht weg." I could relate many similar instances, tending to show that High German has had its day, except in large cities, where importation, exportation and business transactions of various kinds are pursued.

Ten or more years ago I was one of a few who organized the "Lancaster Deutsche Casino," the object of which was to have the German-speaking people meet together and speak nothing but German, in order to better themselves in the conversational use of the language, a fine of one cent being levied for the use of an English word. The "Casino" is still in existence, but,

I am sorry to say, not as a casino for the betterment of expression of the German language, but more for its sociability and "club" qualities. In conclusion, let me urge all who have a liking for High German, or a kinship with the German people, to do what they can to preserve the purity of the German tongue.

Minutes of October Meeting.

Lancaster, Oct. 5, 1906.

The October meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this (Friday) night in the Society's room, in the A. Herr Smith Library Building, on North Duke street, President Steinman presiding.

After roll call, the reading of the minutes of the September meeting was, on motion, dispensed with, as they were already in the hands of the members.

The applications for membership presented at the last meeting being called up for final action, Miss H. Ida Sprecher, of Lancaster; Mr. F. P. D'Miller, of Columbia, and Hon. Eugene G. Smith were, on motion, elected.

The applications of Mrs. Charles L. Marshall, of Lancaster; Miss Elsie Kline Miller, of Lititz, and Edward B. Porter, of Indianapolis, were presented, and, under the rules, were laid over for action until the November meeting.

In the absence of Librarian S. M. Sener, the Secretary announced the following donations, which he had received: A fine lithograph of "Centre Square," Philadelphia, which for more than a century occupied the space on which the Public Building in that city is now erected, presented by Mr. Frank H. Calder; also, a handsomely-colored picture of the same spot, presented by the Secretary; a fine picture of the old Rockland Cotton Mill, presented by Mrs. Baumgardner; a large invitation card to

the dedication services of the State Capitol; an atlas filled with views of Chicago and the exhibits at the Exposition held there, by Mrs. M. N. Robinson; a handsome specimen of feldspar, taken from a depth of 102 feet from the surface in Chester county, bearing the impress of some specie of plant retaining its original color, presented by Mr. Levi C. Kirk, of Pleasant Grove, and an official catalogue of the exhibits at the Centennial Exposition, at Philadelphia, by Miss Martha B. Clark. The thanks of the Society were tendered to all the donors of the above gifts.

The Society was informed of an invitation that has been extended to its members by Mr. Elmer E. Billingfelt, of Adamstown, to visit him in the near future. On motion the Corresponding Secretary was instructed to ascertain when such visit would suit Mr. Billingfelt.

The paper of the evening was read by Dr. R. M. Bolenius, and was on "Francis Daniel Pastorius and the Germans in America, Especially Their Settlement in Eastern and Central Pennsylvania." The essayist traced the great Teutonic immigration into Pennsylvania from its beginning, down through its various stages, and also the character and life of the immigrants after they got here; their ways of life, industries, achievements, and their influence on the upbuilding of the Province and State. It showed much reseach and labor and the author of it was warmly applauded at its close. Remarks were made relative to the general subject by Dr. R. K. Buehrle, Hon. W. U. Hensel and Secretary Diffenderffer. The thanks of the Society were extended to the writer, and the paper was ordered to be published in the usual way.

On motion, a vote of thanks was presented to the Berks County Histor-

ical Society for the cordial hospitality extended to the members of the local Society, who had been their guests on the occasion of a visit made a short time ago. The visit was greatly enjoyed, and will not soon be forgotten.

There being no further business, on motion, the Society adjourned. The meeting was well attended, a number of strangers having also been present. The pleasant quarters will make these meetings more popular than ever.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

NOVEMBER 2, 1906.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

DR. DAVID RAMSAY.

SALLY HASTINGS: A LITERARY GRASS WIDOW.

AN EARLY LETTER BY THADDEUS STEVENS.

MINUTES OF THE NOVEMBER MEETING.

VOL. X. NO. 10.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1906.

Dr. David Ramsay. 357
By Hon. W. U. Hensel.

Sally Hastings: A Literary Grass Widow. . . . 368
By Hon. W. U. Hensel.

An Early Letter by Thaddeus Stevens. 396
By Hon. W. U. Hensel.

Minutes of the November Meeting. 402

Dr. David Ramsay.

One of the most frequent and vivid methods of illustrating how, in this country of equal opportunity,

"Honor and Fame from no condition rise,"

is to portray and preserve the birthplace of eminent men. The log cabins and stone huts, in which Presidents and statesmen, poets and philosophers, scholars and scientists, have been born, are made familiar by painting, steel engraving, lithograph and postal card. It is the exception when pillared mansion or stately homestead is displayed as sheltering the cradle of genius. I want to call your attention to a picture—happily taken before the crumbling ruins of the edifice were swept forever from the landscape—which perpetuates the birthplace of probably the most celebrated man who was native to the soil of Lancaster county. Buchanan and Stevens, though fairly claimed by reason of their long representation of a local constituency, were not of local birth or ancestry. Reynolds, alone of our citizens of the first file in fame's roll, was both born and buried in his own county. Fulton and Ramsay, "to the manner born," early escaped their native environment and achieved national fame outside this locality; but we have a right to cherish their mem-

ories; and the feeling which prompts the higher civilization to mark the birthplaces of eminent men and women ought to be emphasized by this Society.

Far down in Drumore (now East Drumore) township, near where it corners "with Little Britain and Fulton," just north of the road from Centreville to "Bethel," on one of the tributaries of the Conowingo creek, on the farm now owned by Leander Shoemaker, there stood, long before the American Revolution, a whitewashed stone hut, which must have been one of the first edifices in that early-settled section of the county. Its outlines can still be traced.

In that house were born, and out from under its lintels passed into the active world, three lads who were to become conspicuous in public affairs, and to win fame from the country, to be reflected upon the county of their birth.

David Ramsay.

The most conspicuous of them, David Ramsay, was born April 2, 1749. He and his brothers were sons of James Ramsay, an Irish immigrant farmer, who cherished high ideals of religion and education. Their mother, nee Jane Montgomery, died young, and her surviving husband sent his motherless boys to classical schools and college. David was graduated with distinction from Princeton College at the age of sixteen; he taught some time, and it was 1773 when he took his diploma with honor from the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, winning the special commendation of the learned Dr. Rush. He went, with a considerable tide of Scotch Irish emigration, from lower Lancaster county, to South Carolina. He made Charleston his residence, and soon attained eminence as a physi-

cian and prolific writer on medical topics. He was an active spirit and ardent orator in Colonial affairs, and in the agitation which preceded the revolt from England. He was a surgeon in the army and for a time a captive of the British. He was President of the South Carolina Senate for seven years and a member of the Continental Congress from his adopted State. With all his professional labors and political activity he joined a keen and cultivated taste for history and literature, and, besides being the author of several medical text books and many contributions to the journals, his "History of the United States," "History of the Revolution" and "Life of Washington" are among the earliest standard works relating to these phases of our history as a nation. He was also the State historian of South Carolina. To a natural aptitude for contemporary historical work he added laborious research; and he shared most advantageously the friendship and confidence of such men as John Witherspoon, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. It is related that a copy of Ramsay's "Washington" was the first book Abraham Lincoln ever owned, and he worked three days in a corn field to pay for it.

Dr. Ramsay's individual distinction was supplemented by two noteworthy marriages. The great Witherspoon was the father of his first wife, and thus he became a brother-in-law of that other famous native Lancaster countian, Rev. Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, of Pequea, who married Witherspoon's eldest daughter when he was President of Hampden-Sydney and before his call to Princeton. After the death of the first Mrs. Ramsay her bereaved husband married the brilliant daughter of Henry Laurens,

Minister both to England and France, who had accompanied her father to both Courts and made herself famous abroad by numerous acts of religious charity. It will be remembered that Ramsay met a violent death on the streets of Charleston, May 18, 1815, being shot with three bullets by a maniac named William Linnen, to whose mental unsoundness he had testified in Court.

It is gratifying to find that Dr. Ramsay never lost interest in his native county and its people, among whom there was a large family relationship. A generation after he had settled South he wrote the following letter to his cousin, James Patterson, 2d, of Little Britain township, to whose descendants I am indebted for making the first copy from the original manuscript in their possession:

Charleston S. C. August 21st 1805.

My Dear Cousins

I was made happy by information from the bearer of your success in life Many years have elapsed since I had heard anything from the place of my nativity. I have now nine children, of all ages between twenty & three; my eldest son is graduated at New Jersey College, has spent his last winter and probably will the two next in Phila attending the medical lectures. He has always gone and returned by water. I long very much to revisit my native country, but am so entangled with business that I cannot leave Charleston. I often think of the friends of my youth & am particularly anxious to be informed of my relations. Will you be so good as to inform me by the bearer of the situation of & numbers & circumstances of all my cousins and their offspring, these and your family

and the daughters and grandchildren of our uncle Thomas and James Montgomery. I suppose the old people are no longer of this world. Is my cousin, Campbell, the daughter of my Uncle Thomas, alive and where does she live. How many children has she had and where are they. Three nephews of mine, the sons of my brother, William, followed me to Charleston. two of them are dead, having left twelve children in their two families. The other is alive with a family of seven children, all young. He was bred to Physic, but has turned cotton planter by which he makes crops of from four to six thousand dollars worth in the course of each year. What has become of the families of Thomas Porter, of the Moore's, Andrew McIntyre, of James Grier, who was my father's neighbor; W. M'Teer, I have heard, bought the plantation on which I was born. What is the plantation now worth. what does it produce. Is the house standing in which I was born. What new buildings are there erected on it. Have you any preacher at Chestnut Level or Little Britain; what is the state of religion among you. These and many other questions I would be glad to have answered by the return of the bearer. James Morrison and Robert King were two young men of my own standing. The former married the daughter of Rev. Sampson Smith, my tutor. I would be glad to hear of them. I see the name of General Steel sometimes in the newspapers; who are your high militia officers, Assemblymen and other leading characters.

"With much regard, I am your affectionate cousin,

"DAVID RAMSAY."

Nathaniel Ramsay.

But for the greater fame of the elder brother, probably it would be better known that Nathaniel Ramsay, born in this same house, May 1, 1751, also was graduated from Princeton, at the age of sixteen. He studied law and was admitted to the Bar of Cecil county, Md., March 14, 1771; the same year he married Margaret Jane Peale, sister of Charles Willson Peale, who was destined to become the great American portrait painter of the Revolutionary period. He was active in the Revolutionary cause during the political agitation preceding the outbreak of hostilities. He left his law office at Charlestown, Md., and a good practice to become a Captain in Colonel Smallwood's battalion, in 1776. He was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the Third Battalion of the Maryland Line in the Continental Army in 1777.

When Lee wavered at Monmouth, it was to Col. Nath. Ramsay that Washington turned with well-placed confidence. He was cut down, left for dead, captured and suffered long and much in confinement, being attended in prison by his faithful wife, who was also with him at Valley Forge. After the close of the war, Baltimore, where he had made his home, sent him as a delegate from Maryland to the Continental Congress of 1786-87; he was Federal Marshal, and, in recognition of his eminent public services in war and in peace, he was continued undisturbed as naval officer of the District of Maryland under five successive administrations. He died October 23, 1817.

William Ramsay.

Another brother (and older than the two more distinguished) was William Ramsay. Like the austere Presbyterian of his day, his father destined

THE RAMSAY HOMESTEAD.

the "firstling of the flock" for the holy ministry, and William Ramsay was "ordained and installed pastor of Fairfield Presbyterian Church, May 11, 1756."

It is to be regretted that the humble Drumore house in which were born these three eminent men—severally distinguished in what were then called the three different "learned professions"—has been obliterated and no permanent marker as yet designates its site. No fitter task could engage this Society than to erect, or to stimulate the erection of, enduring memorials at some of the more famous places in our great county, where men of distinction were born or lived, and where the more notable events have happened. I have reason to believe the present owner of the Ramsay farm would cooperate, and many citizens of the locality would contribute, to suitably mark and effectually preserve the site of this lowly cottage where the Ramsay brothers were born.

Historic Spots That Should Be Preserved.

In the same neighborhood, though in an adjoining township, Robert Fulton's birthplace still stands, but a bronze tablet or granite pillar should point out its significance to the passer-by. The noted "Riot House," in the Chester Valley, east of Christiana, has long since been a ruin, and every vestige of it is being obliterated rapidly. It ought to be fenced off and fitly marked. The land is, I believe, now the property, or under control of, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. On the south side of its line, between Downingtown and Philadelphia, there is a little mound surrounded by an octagon of palings which I scarcely ever fail to

note as I pass by train. There nearly three-quarters of a century ago were buried a score and a-half of Irish immigrant laborers, who died of cholera that suddenly broke out in a railroad construction camp. Reverent hands and considerate care have ever since guarded and kept green their common grave. It is the touching tribute of a "soulless corporation" to the spirit of historical reverence. I have no doubt that if the suggestion was properly brought to its notice the same company would set apart forever, and even permanently commemorate that tenant house and lot in Sadsbury, where, sixty-five years ago. was fired the tragic shot of the fleeing bondsman, heard 'round the entire land, then torn by the conflict of Freedom and Slavery.

The Ramsays and Their Lancaster County Relations.

Since the foregoing was written and read, I have had additional evidence of the continuing interest of the Ramsays of South Carolina in their Lancaster county relatives. Following is a copy of a letter written almost fifty years ago—and yet nearly a-half-century after the one heretofore quoted—by Dr. David Ramsay's son to his kinsman, James P. Andrews. As it throws additional light on the relationship of all parties, I append it to the Ramsay sketch, as a valuable addition. The letter has also considerable inherent literary interest, showing how careless as to punctuation and "capitalization" in letter-writing many men of position and learning were two generations ago; what were then considered entirely pardonable omissions and slips would now be deemed inexcusable

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

slovenliness in a schoolboy and hopeless ignorance in a typewriter:

"Hot Springs Bath Co
"Virginia
"30 August 1859

"James P Andrews Esq

"Dear Sir A letter of your dated July 25th 1859, to my deceased brother Dr James Ramsay has followed me to

ANOTHER VIEW OF RIOT HOUSE.

these mountains Permit me to take his place in your acquaintance and it possible to strengthen and improve that. your enquiries after the 'montgomery' line of my ancestry, I cannot well answer here, separated from our family record, except imperfectly

Jane Montgomery married James Ramsay and had 1) William deceased in 1771 and connected with the Elmers of New Jersey. his decendants in the 4th & 5th generation are scattered in the Southern States and only a few are personally known to me. 2) Nathaniel a colonel in the Revolution who had several children, of whom Ramsay McHenry is the only one I know. 3) David, a President of the American Congres & writer. all of his decedants are either dead or unmarried except myself, David his grandson & a cousin Mrs. Bellinger I am therefore great grandson of Mrs Jane (Montgomery) Ramsay. It is traditional with us that she was an Aunt or cousin of General Richard Montgomery. of this I cannot here either examine or offer the proofs. she was the niece of the Hon. John C Calhouns mother's father or rather first cousin to that statesman I have now given some identification of myself and what I can remember of my Great Grandmother's connexions. My brother Dr James Ramsay had and I as his sole brother & heir now have a card of Mrs. G Andrews Phila. 'Grandparents James & Letitia (Montgomery) Patterson.' My aunt Miss Catharine Ramsay an old lady unmarried will be in Phila on or after the ninth September She may be heard of or addressed through 'Paul T. Jones' of that place. I shall be in New York about the 16th of September. I expect to be there a week or two & to return through Phila to Charleston my residence where I practice as a Lawyer. I trust to commence an acquaintance or some of your family which I confident will ripen with further intercourse. Be kind enough to address me a line at New York about 16th Sept. my simple address thro' the general delivery will be sufficient.

and now my dear sir permit me to remain with kindest regards

"Yours Very Truly
"DAVID RAMSAY
"(Attorney at Law)."

The James P. Andrews to whom this letter was addressed was a member of one of the notable families in the "Lower End," whose name is long time associated with the moral and material development of that section, and with that most picturesque and permanent structure spanning the Octoraro at one of its finest stretches of rippling streams and verdant meadows—"Andrews' Bridge."

The Andrews and Ramsays were inter-related with the Wilsons, Pattersons, Galbreaths, Russels, Calhouns, Gardiners and other foremost families of the Irish-Presbyterian people who settled Lower Lancaster county.

Mrs. John S. Stahr, of this city, her sisters, the Misses Andrews, and her brother, the late Prof. James P. Andrews, who long maintained a classical school at Union, Colerain township, were grandchildren of James P. Andrews' brother; and "grandparents James and Letitia Montgomery Patterson"—referred to in this letter—were their forebears in the fourth or fifth degree of ascent.

Sally Hastings: A Literary Grass Widow.

It is difficult to define the limits of an Historical Society's proper functions. Broadly and yet fairly stated, they may be taken to comprehend everything that makes for the genius, the moral, intellectual or material life and experience of the people and territory covered in the plan of the society.

Lancaster county as now bounded stretches from the Octoraro on the southeast to the Conewago on the northwest; from the Brecknock forest on the northeast to the slate hills of Peach Bottom on the southwest. Within these boundaries there have been aboriginal, colonial, revolutionary, post-revolutionary and modern epochs. When the full and complete history of this, our great county, is finally written, it will, I fancy, be divided chronologically into these periods:

1. The geological formation and the aboriginal occupation of the county, prior to the incoming of European settlers.

2. The history of the county under all governments preceding the American Revolution.

3. The experience of the county during the Revolution and the formative period of the United States, until the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

4. The development and progress of the county until the War of the Rebellion.

5. The history of the county since 1861.

This, however, is only the chronological order in which events must be marshalled, cause and effect analyzed, forces dissected and results traced to their genesis. The whole scheme must be "cross-sectioned" by an inquiry into the ethnological, religious, educational, commercial, manufacturing and agricultural interests, and, indeed, every activity which has animated our local history. In each of these spheres there have been continuity and evolution; and along all these lines our history must be studied and wrought out into fit expression.

Many maps, ponderous volumes of history and so-called biography; numerous monographs, innumerable papers and sketches, fragments of reminiscences, "disjecta membra," family and church, graveyard and Court House records, vague traditions, deeds and other title papers, private memoranda and public annals, old furniture and older china, land-marks and sign-boards—a thousand tokens are to be noted on the road to a fitting, true and complete history of Lancaster county. This work, when finished, must be a literary and historical achievement, without a taint of commercialism or self-interest, and with nothing set down in malice or for favor.

When this ideal shall have been realized some scant recognition at least must and will be given to Poetry. One of the most clever of modern poetasters has taught us how easily we can dispense with poets if we retain our cooks; and I myself, on a certain occasion, seeming to apologize for Pennsylvania's appreciation

of the material, am blamed for coining the aphorism, "Pig iron has its uses as well as poetry."

For all that I believe I can render a faint service to this club, organized as well for literary and historical as for more strictly social purposes, by recalling to it the fact that,dull and prosaic as the characteristic life of our intensely agricultural community is, there has never been (at least, at no time in the last century) a period when the Muse of Poetry has not been challenged for a moment to halt on our highways to receive, if not to regard, the offerings of a local worshipper at her shrine.

Our Greatest Poet.

I am not at all concerned, for the purposes of this paper, with the world-wide reputation of the finest literary genius our county has yet furnished to fame in the realm of imaginative literature. His position is fixed. Contemporary criticism gives him and his work foremost place. To have, native and nourished within our borders, a poet whom the "Westminster Review" ranks with Wordsworth as a sonneteer, whom William D. Howells, Richard Henry .Stoddard and Horace Howard Furness—a trio of eminent critics—pronounce worth a leading place among American poets—is a ripe century sheaf of local literary achievement. Yet Lloyd Mifflin thinks he has failed as a poet where he might have succeeded as a painter. He has never forgotten, what most of us never knew, that his lamented father wrote flawless verse of the highest order.

All this, however, only by the way!

Let me, leaving for a little while the "grand masters" and the "bards sublime," ask for a momentary recognition of a minor minstrel, rural and

local, to be sure, slightly remembered, if not altogether forgotten, a star that flickered feebly in the constellation of local poesy and then was lost to literary view—a flower that blushed not altogether unseen,but whose fragrance soon was wasted on an unsympathetic desert air. Yet to her personality attaches some interest, to her scant volume of slender verse some little value, and to her fading fame some faint claim to restoration.

It was said—I am not sure of which—either of a dancing bear or a preaching woman, that it was not so wonderful she (or it) did it so well, as that it (or she) could do it at all. The relation of things is almost everything. So when we corsider what it meant to write and print and publish a volume of verse in the shadow of Donegal Church one hundred years ago, we can forgive Sally Hastings, poetess, and William Dickson, publisher, that their combined efforts of genius and journalism, scoring ambition and commercial enterprise, produced nothing more proud or pretentious than this little time-stained volume I hold in my hand, bought at a sale of rubbish for three cents, and yet salable as a literary curio for $10 or $15. You will recall the story of the Baptist preacher, who, taking for his text "The devil, he goeth about as a roaring lion," divided his discourse into three separate heads. "Who, the devil, he was," "Where, the devil, he was going," and "What, the devil, he was roaring about."

Of Scotch-Irish Family.

Following his plan, let us briefly inquire who was Sally Hastings, what she did and why she did it.

Our poetess was sprung from that sturdy strain of Scotch-Irish stock which settled in the Pequea Valley

and left the landmarks of its advance in the erection of the Pequea, Leacock and Donegal meeting houses. Robert Anderson, her father, was a patentee of land on both sides of the "old road" or "king's highway," near Intercourse. Her mother, Margaret Clark, was the daughter of James Clark, an early Presbyterian settler in the Martic region. Her forbears on both sides came from Colerain, Londonderry, Ireland, whose emigrants gave name to one of our most sturdy townships. Tradition has it that Anderson had already become what was then called a "bachelor," when he heard of James Clark's curly-haired daughter, Peggy, rode down to her father's house, stayed all night there, and fell in love with the object of his visit. The record of the marriage of these two loyal Leacock Presbyterians is to be found, for some reason, in the archives of St. James' Episcopal Church, of this city. They were wed June 2, 1767, and their daughter, Sarah, was born March 25, 1773. While her mother yet nursed the infant she and her black slave Eve "baked bread for the army," and "knit stockings" for the Revolutionary soldiers, who marched up and down that broad thoroughfare under the swinging signs of the Widow Caldwell's "Hat Tavern" and the "Three Crowns" (both yet admirably preserved at Bleak House).

Brice Clark, who had come up from Delaware, was first married to Mary, sister of Col. James Crawford. She died early; about the same time Robert Anderson's death left his wife a widow and his children fatherless. Their surviving mates made another match and Sally Anderson became the stepdaughter of Brice Clark before he moved, in 1783, to Donegal, settling on the Lowery-Clark farm, now Don Cameron's. There the susceptible Sally

met and married Enoch Hastings, a carpenter, and they dwelt for a time in the brick house in the Square at Maytown, where later Amos Slaymaker, and more recently, John C. Sweiler kept a store. She soon discovered that her family had been wiser than herself in their objections to her choice of a husband; years of separation ensued, which only failed to culminate in a divorce because her stepfather had sterner Presbyterian ideas on the legal dissolution of marriage than prevail in these later days of free and easy divorce. Her daughter, Margaret, died in childhood.

The mark of Sally Hastings' grave cannot be found, but the record of her death, in Washington, Pa., April 30, 1812, shows life to have ended at the age of thirty-nine; as her book was published in 1808, and her remarkable journey to the West, across the mountains, was accomplished in 1800, her literary activity—however early developed—must have been most intensely exercised while she was what men (and even some women) used to rather despitefully call a "grass widow."

We may easily conjecture that her educational advantages were not above the average of her day, and the sentiment of her poems indicates a devotional frame of mind rather than a wide range of classic learning or reading; but it is manifest that the poetry of Alexander Pope, who has been styled "the poet of an artificial age and of artificial life," largely helped to make her style. The title page of her little volume and the ardent invocation to the Muse of Poetry which it contains afford some indicia of the contents and will bear literary reproduction:

Her Title Page.

POEMS
on
DIFFERENT SUBJECTS.
To which is added,
A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT
of a
FAMILY TOUR TO THE WEST,
In the year 1800.
In a
LETTER TO A LADY.

By SALLY HASTINGS.

Celestial Guide, inspire my artless Song,
To warm the Languid, and instruct the Young;
From Error, to protect the op'ning Mind,
And point the path to Happiness refin'd;
To wake the Pious, win the careless Heart,
And Pleasure, with Improvement, to impart.
Aid me, aright, to speak thy hallowed Name;
Nor let my rash presumptuous Pen blaspheme.
Aid me to dress fair Truth in Fancy's guise;
The Truth's I sign, aid me to realize.
Inspire each Thought, each Sentiment refine;)
Live in each Page, preside o'er ev'ry Line;)
Adorn my Muse with Grace and Love divine.)

LANCASTER,
Printed and sold, by William Dickson, for the benefit of the authoress.
1808.

Her Apology.

In the opening lines addressed "To The Public" she frankly confesses that her Pegasus is a jade of fickle temper:

"Sometimes my winged Pegafus
As fwift as Cupid's arrow flies,
And curb and rein defies.
"Sometimes he takes his foaring flight,
To high Parnaffus' top;
When rais'd to fuch a giddy height,
My fhallow pate grows wond'rous light
And down, alas! I drop."

Appealing to the tender consideration of her critics, in a tone of half apology and half defiance, she reminds them that her learning has been principally

"To read her Bible through,
And write a sorry rhyme."

Some three-score metrical effusions make up the poetic contents of one hundred and seventy-five pages of the publication. "A Private Prayer," in verse, which is one of the principal poems of the work, breathes an intensely Presbyterian pious spirit and appeals fervently to the compassionate mercy of an angry and avenging Jehovah; while under such titles as "Contemplation," "Expostulation," "A Complaint," "The Request" and "The True Physician, Composed in Sickness"—orthodoxy, humility and the dread of everlasting punishment approach the Throne of Grace with the prayer of a "wretched sinner" and the cry of a "helpless rebel." "The Indian Chief" tells in rhyme the alleged true story of the circumstance at a Presbytery in Ohio, A. D. 1804, when "Wiandot's warlike Chief" from "Sandusky's distant plains" presented his infant son for consecration to the service of the Christian ministry.

The New Year greeting of 1806 to "Rev. C. M'F———r," of course, needs no key to tell us that Rev. Colin M'Farquhar, the venerable and distinguished pastor of Donegal, was the object of her poetic and personal adoration; later she weaves into rhyme her abstract of an exhortation delivered at his church previous to the administration of the Holy Communion, July 6, one hundred years ago. "Death Awful" oppresses her muse and clogs her pen.

"Infinite bliſs, or wrath divine,
Infinite ſkill demand."

"By special request" she gives place and credit in her volume to "An Epicedium" "on the death of the virtuous and pious Mrs. Mary Bell, composed by Mary Maxfield, of Fags Manor, at the age of eighty years." "While laboring under a complication of distressing providences," May 7, 1806, Mrs. Hastings produces a most serious "Invocation to Religion," and seems quite reconciled to change a "night of weeping" for "one eternal morning in the skies." "A brief cessation from a cramp in the breast" affords her opportunity for an "Ejaculation" of submission to God's "awful will" and self-reproach that her profane tongue had expressed "a rebellious word" or her breast cherished "an impious murmur." With relief from mental sorrows and physical discomfort she assumes a lighter mood and gaily writes of "Lovely Sapho," "Cupid's Bow" and in the "Graces of Venus," "at the request of a friend," whose name is delicately veiled as "Miss Eliza C——" she pours out a passionate ode to Love, relapsing, however, to the pious mood in a "song" of "Celestial Delights,"

"There living waters freely roll,
To eafe the forrows of the foul,
And all its pow'rs refine;
There peace and pardon fweetly blend;
And love, and joy, and grace defcend;
And glory all divine.

"There fruits of life eternal grow,
And feas of pureft pleafures flow;
Without a fhoal or fhore:
There angels join with faints above,
In one harmonious fong of love;
And feraphims adore."

Old and New.

Elegaic themes especially attracted her and she sings her sympathy to the weeping and surviving family of John Whitehill, of Donegal, January 26, 1807. Sermons heard suggest poetic abstracts of their contents. "The Fall of Man," with its forfeiture, is

supplemented by "The Recovery" through the scheme of redemption; while her "Reflections in a Grave-yard." (inspired, no doubt, by the tombs at Donegal) strike the note of "Vanity of Vanities," not, however, without some echo of the hope of a joyful and triumphant resurrection from death and the grave. At times she is animated by the spirit of social censorship and a too reckless style of decollete dress by a beloved young friend, "The Accomplished Miss ——," provokes her to address to her a poetic warning: .

"Sweet Delia, draw your tucker clofe,
And do not needlefsly expofe
Your bofom, like the lily fair;
It grieves my heart to fee thofe charms,
So form'd to blefs a wife man's arms,
To vulgar eyes difclos'd and bare."
* * * * * *
"Believe me, love, the modeft Youth,
Whofe bofom beats with honeft truth,
Would deem the act profane, to view;
He would the impious thought difown,
And guefs your blufhes, by his own;
And fuch alone can merit you."

Thus, it will be seen that the modern discussion in church and society about the propriety of the "peek-a-boo" shirt waist is "nothing new under the sun!"

Contributing to the albums of her friends the inspirations of her muse, now pensive and now gladsome over the local landscape, essaying bold flights in depicting the wonders of the "Apocalypse," she is not unmindful of the large concerns of national events. The "noble Washington" and the "wise Jefferson" have her unfaltering homage; the brilliant achievements of the American General Eaton against the Tripolitans and other pirates of Upper Africa call forth loud paeans from her high strung lyre.

A Western Tour.

A considerable number of pages, some fifty in this book, are taken up with her diary of a "Family Tour to the West in 1800," which has very considerable historical value, and anticipates that portion of her literary career which was lived in Western Pennsylvania and in the congenial atmosphere of a college town. Those of us to whom a journey from the Delaware to the Ohio now means a daylight ride of ten hours, with parlor and dining car comforts and luxuries, can hardly conceive what the trip of women and children across the mountains from one end of the State to the other meant a hundred years ago. Late in the fall of the last year of the eighteenth century, just one hundred and six years ago, a group of ten persons, five of them young children, set out with a two-horse wagon to make their way, on foot, and with their little team, across the State of Pennsylvania, thus journeying from Maytown, Lancaster county, to Cross Creek, Washington County. Her married sister, into whose protection Mrs. Hastings records she had been thrown "by the rough hand of unrelenting adversity," was in declining health when her husband (who, for several years, had owned a farm in the extreme western part of the State) determined to remove his family to that settlement. They left as exiles, quit their native land, and our narrator describes herself as a child of misfortune setting out for an asylum, where "far removed from the varied fcene of my more profperous days, in the tranquil bofom of Retirement and Solitude, I may become fo familiarized with Adversity, as to forget that I once was bleft." Addressing her Patroness: "There, Madam, fuperior to the precarious

favors of capricious Fortune, and unterrified by her frown, might I not hope to enjoy thofe independent Bleffings, which the world can neither confer nor withhold."

Nevertheless, she was intellectually probably the strongest of the party, and seems to have been the directing mind of the enterprise. The first day they traversed eighteen miles of swamp roads, crossed the Susquehanna by ferry somewhere about New Cumberland, and the diary entry as to her emotions, upon being asked to cross the rolling waters, gives some insight into the Presbyterian character of her day. She notes:

"This morning we croffed the Sufquehanna; and fuch is my Fear of venturing into a Ferry-boat, that it required a full quarter of an hour's reafoning to convince me, that, to a Predeftinarian, the greateft Danger, and no Danger, is abfolutely the same thing! Perhaps there are no two things in Nature more at variance than my Principles and Practice: For, though I indubitably believe in the univerfal Sovereignty of the Deity; yet I perceive I am never willing to refign the reigns of government into his hands, while I can poffibly hold them in my own."

Among the Mountains.

Persons much more eminent in literature and travel than our friend Sally have written far duller narratives than this, her early-day story of an emigrant party's passage over the trail of the wagoners of the Alleghenies. If her range of reading haa been narrow, her experience in travel was quite as limited; her inexperience, her sensitiveness, her frailty of body and poetic susceptibility to impressions of every kind aggravated the joys as well as the discomforts of

such a romantic and yet toilsome trip. The fine fields of the Cumberland Valley enraptured her and inspired outbursts of verse; the town of Carlisle, though beautifully situated, must have looked askance at the pilgrims, for she detected in the people "an air of impertinent curiosity." The wayside inns were of every sort; while at times the agreeable conversation of an intelligent lodger—a man, of course—restored her spirits and reduced her temper, quite as often as the "repulsive looks and uncivil behavior of the landlady" produced a very opposite effect. Poor land, but well-informed people, attested the predominance of the Scotch-Irish in Franklin county; as she nears the mountains, their "cloud-capped grandeur and forest-crowned summits" inspire her Muse.

"There shroud their awful brow, whose nodding frown
Sheds a deep, dark and chilling horror round."

The "gloomy grandeur" of the scene fills her with "painful astonishment," and "such Solitude and Terror as Life" now presents she had never imagined. Every quality of fortitude is required for the foot journey over the mountains. Nothing can "soothe the corroding sorrows of the mind" except she bids her Muse assuage her rising grief. The appeal is not in vain. This "sacred Source of Bliss refined" comes to her solace, even when camping in the open air, treading lonely labyrinths, traveling through the pelting rain, and at last, when reaching lodgings, they find themselves crowded upon chairs and hard benches to sleep, while drunken roysterers made night hideous. Prose, and, indeed, all words, fail her to tell her correspondent the "terrific wildness" of the country through which they pass:

"Great Nature, scorning ev'ry polish'd grace,
In awful terror decks her frowning face;
Assumes the ancient sceptre of her throne,
Bids Art retire, and reigns supreme alone."

She records her impressions of Bedford—not altogether favorable—and grows right eloquent when at last "the very summit of the Allegheny towers majestically through the opening clouds and looks down on the rest of Creation as sovereign mistress of our Northern world." When she finds herself entirely separated by the further mountain slope from her Eastern home, grief inconsolable sets in; but, happily, at the very crisis, a kindred soul appears—a man, of course—at the next tavern, who, like herself, has "a passion for the quill." They exchange verses. Is it any wonder she had peaceful sleep and happy dreams? Hear now how changed the note

"As on the lonely mountain's top I slept,
Celestial Guards their wakeful vigils kept;
Around my couch their guardian Aegis spread,
And balmy Sleep o'er all my senses shed."

In simpler lines she tells of the ascent of Laurel hill, steep and rocky, where, through falling snow and freezing rain, in pitchy darkness,her sister, exhausted and weeping, she carried in her arms two children, more than half her own weight, for more than two miles. She indites, with graphic power, an experience at a wayside tavern, where twenty hunters "of savage appearance and in outlandish dress," yet gave them rude welcome and a share of hospitality. At another tavern she was witness and auditor of scenes and sounds of all variety of domestic dissipation, from the frolicsome revelry of a corn-husking to the exhilarating spectacle of an angry housewife

three times in two days horse-whipping her drunken helpmeet—a man, of course.

An Old "Muster Day."

I have been in Greensburg of this modern day, on "halcyon and vociferous" occasions, and I know something of its capacity for hilarity; but a hundred years ago,if this veracious chronicler is not to be doubted, it must have been quite worthy of its rater fame. She got there at the end of a day of "General Military Review." At the risk of imposing upon your patience I transcribe her dairy now at some length for a threefold purpose: (1) Because her story throws a charming sidelight on the social diversions a century ago—among men, of course; (2) because the reference to a gallant officer from Lancaster piques our curiosity to know who he might have been; and (3) because to this day the identity of "the person of our party" to whom he made love has been undiscovered—and it is left us only to guess that the widow's modesty caused it to be unrecorded. Hear, then, the doings of that ancient time, when there were sounds of revelry by night in old Westmoreland's shiretown:

"I have already told you, it was the day of a general Review. Moft of the Officers of the Battalions had met at this Place, and were refrefhing themfelves, after the Fatigues of the day, in all the various Exercifes which the martial Spirit of Man could invent, or a convivial Bottle infpire. Being all completely equipped, in the various Uniforms of their refpective Corps, their Appearance was at once folemn, fplendid, and ludicrous; for every Man, except the Landlord, was intoxicated. This Gentleman, who is of the firft Character and Refpectability, affured

us that, except Noife and want of Sleep, we had no other Inconvenience to expect in his Houfe; for, though it might appear paradoxical to affert it, every Man under his roof was a Gentleman and Man of Honor—who would fooner forfeit his Life, than his Pretenfions to thofe facred Characters.

"They occupied two large Rooms, in Dancing; and they were very expert at this Exercife. It was difficult to reconcile the different Senfations which their Drefs and Employment created; yet, I muft acknowledge, they were a Company of the moft active and handfome Men I ever faw. Their Joviality increafed, as the night advanced; and their Spirits, which feemed naturally haughty and martial, became extremely irritable.

"Being of different political Opinions, Argument foon became ardent. The field of Controverfy became too warm to allow Reafon (who ever fhuns Contrarieties) to prefide, and her Office fell into the hands of thofe hotheaded Demagogues, the Paffions—each of which, difdaining Subordination, rofe in Arms, and alternately feized the reigns of government. This produced fuch a medly of Anarchy and Confufion, that it would require a Pen much abler than mine to defcribe it.

"Thofe ftupendous and intricate Affairs, which require the united Wifdom of the ableft Statefmen of our Country, were here developed, difcuffed, and bandied from tongue to tongue, with the fame degree of Judgment and Intelligence which is evinced by the Difciples of a certain modern political Commentator, in their Attempts to canvafs the holy Scriptures. Conviction was not the Object in view. Every man became an Orator; and to obtain Audience was the End moft defired. The principal Excel-

lence belonged not to him who fpoke beft, but to him who fpoke loudeft and moft; and every Man feemed to have the lungs of a Stentor. The more unintelligible they became, the more Vociferation had they recourfe to; until, finding that their Voices produced no better effect, than if they were fhouting to a Whirlwind, and that they became not only incomprehenfible, but difregarded—fuddenly dropping their Arguments—they feized their Swords, and appeared as terrific as Milton's Devils! And 'Confufion' became 'worfe confounded.'

"We fat quiet Spectators all night; and there was not a Room in the Houfe unoccupied. When we faw the glitter of Swords, and heard the clafhing of them over our heads, we began to entertain ftrong Apprehenfions for our perfonal Safety. We could not wholly conceal our Fear; and one of the leading Officers, approaching the fpot where we fat, begged of us to difmifs our Terrors, as he was himfelf from Lancafter county, and would fhed the laft drop of his heart's Blood, to procure a proper Refpect for every Individual from that place. This gracious Affurance did not, however, very much tend to diffipate our Alarm: until the Gentleman, in a voice which made the Dome re-echo, commanded 'Attention!' His Command, to my utter Aftonifhment, was inftantly obeyed. 'Confufion heard his Voice, and wild Uproar ftood rul'd.'

"He then delivered a concife and very nervous Addrefs to them, on the Indecorum of Fighting in the prefence of Ladies, and the want of Gallantry betrayed in being the Caufe of raifing their Terrors. He concluded by reminding them, 'that Intoxication, though excufable in a Gentleman, under certain Circumftances, was by

no means an Apology for a Breach of the Laws of Good-breeding; and the Refpect which every Gentleman felt himfelf bound, in Honor and in Duty, to pay to the Female Sex.'

"I know not why it was, that this Officer had fo much Influence over his Companions; but, certain it is, his Commands were as ftrictly adhered to, and held as inviolate, as the Laws of the Medes and Perfians: And for his own part, he carried his Politenefs fo far as to make Love to a Perfon of our Party; whom he entertained with a Song, which confifted of two elegant Lines and a ——Hiccough.

"The Landlord, by a well-timed piece of Policy, concealed all their Swords; and, in the heat of another Argument, when the Champions wifhed to fupport their Caufe by reforting to them, they were not to be found. However, a more vulgar mode of convincing Antagonifts was fubftituted—fome Sculls being too thick for Reafon to penetrate—and they turned out; boxed in pairs; and returned as peaceable and affectionate as Brothers. This was new to me; nor did I ever behold, at the fame time, a more ftriking difplay of the Dignity and Depravity of fallen Human Nature."

At the Terminus.

McKeesport and Confluence, when reached, in the midst of clear waters and wild exuberance of overgrown nature, were then very different from the blazing and bellowing industrial towns which now make the valleys of the Monongahela and the Youghiogany look literally "like hell with the lid off;" but Canonsburg, an ancient seat of learning, with a college commencement in progress, afforded a spectacle of decorum in happy contrast with the orgies at Greensburg; and their twen-

ty-four-day trip ended in placidity and repose—even if they slept at first in a cottage which had "neither window glass, paint nor roof."

I have thus—at perhaps too great prolixity—abstracted the contents of this unique little book, not so much because it is rare, but because it is one of the few recorded memorials of a Lancaster County woman who wrote and wrought one hundred years ago, when Iris clubs—and even Hamilton Clubs—for better or for worse—were scarcer than they are now, and "books were books!"

My tale had been longer were the literary remains of Sally Hastings' life in Western Pennsylvania more numerous or better preserved. Happily her kinswomen in this good town—the Misses Clark, to whom I am greatly indebted for much of this matter—are in possession of some manuscript, including three notable autograph letters, which help us to gather some information touching her later experiences and fortunes.

Writing Letters Home.

From Cross Creek, Washington county, August 14, 1801, she writes to Margaret Clark, Donegal township, Lancaster county, addressing her with the stately ceremony of the times, as "Honored Mother," and folding the foolscap sheet, after the manner of that envelopless day, so as to superscribe the address, sending it East by the hand and "favor of Mr. Elder."

In a fashion of letter-writing that quick communication, telephones and typewriters have now utterly killed, she pours out to her distant mother the domestic woes of herself and sister, "Becky," who is dispirited, ill, likes neither this place nor its people; her reference to the taste of

metheglin, as an entirely novel drink to her; and her careful preparation of a "bowl of penada" for the languishing mother of the new baby in the household, recall some domestic concoctions growing unfamiliar to the oldest of us. She dwells with daughterly freedom on the social life of the neighborhood; tells how the young men and young women "drop in" to "sit up" with the sick; and how "all the beaux on Cross Creek" come at one time—and that a time when none was wanted. Though her letter indicates a certain freedom of manner in respectable society then, that nowadays would be counted rude and even gross, I doubt not the communications of young people were quite free from much of the nasty nice things in literature and on the stage which our boys and girls are allowed to touch with impunity, and which they are expected to taste without impurity!

Some Church History.

Though Sally, in her letters, as in her book, is sentimental to the last, and winds up with a Shakesperean quotation, the most valuable feature of the paper is her description of the local Presbyterian preacher. She is no undiscriminating critic of herself or of him. Listen:

"I go very little abroad only to Meeting. There I atend as regularly as the Church Doors are open. I will not say it is merely Religion takes me there. I believe Indeed it is more for the pleasure I take in hearing the Eloquent Orator Speak, than the Sound Devine. But be that as it may It is for the pleasure of hearing Mr. Marquis alone. To hear him is harmony, Though he often gives us the lash of the law in all its severity. He has before now fairly made me jump off my Seat with terrer and slapping

the pulpit. If he would only quit that he would be the Sweetest man in the world. But the people here would not like him if he would preach in moderation, he is the Dreadfulest Thunderer I ever heard Nothing Seems more at varience than his preaching and his Countenance, one is all Terror tother all Sweetness and Mild persuation. Scold as he may I will love him Nay I cannot help it, he was formd to be beloved. It is only giving him his due. But you donnegall people would not bear him at all if he would take a fit of sending you to the D——l and that he would do without any Ceremony, for things you would scarce think you merited Sutch rough treatment. Oh how he would handle your Dancing and singing your Dressing and Gay conversations your giddy round of—visits your state and refinements, your preparations for Company, and all the etceras of your Fations. I just wish to hear him at you. Yet he would do it so nicely, and with sutch a grace, you would love him."

Who was this man who made such marked impression upon her religious and literary sensibilities?

No other than the famous Thomas Marquis—born in the Valley of Virginia, removed to Washington county, converted by the first sermon preached in that region, and offering his first-born child as the first to be baptized, educated and licensed as a preacher under the famous Rev. Dr. McMillen of "Log College" fame, he preached thirty-two years at Cross Creek, but spread the fame of his silvery oratory and fiery eloquence wherever Presbyterianism was known; esteemed as the most eminent pulpit orator of his day, he was likewise one of the most judicious of the church counsellors; while he quelled the dis-

orders of his denomination in the turbulent Synod of Kentucky, he furnished models of speech for the most polished orators of Philadelphia and Princeton.

There are other signs than early appreciation of Marquis' genius that the literary taste and judgment of Sally Hastings were maturing. Her sister died prior to 1805, and that or other events determined her return to Lancaster county. On page 103 of her Poems is one of the reflective character, tinged with melancholy, on leaving her place of residence in the West and resigning charge of her deceased sister's orphan family, February 1, 1805. Perhaps the good aunt was superseded by a stepmother. This does happen sometimes—the fault of the man, of course.

Though she had written to her mother less than four years earlier that she found her new neighbors good-hearted, but insipid, dull and uninteresting and strangely different from those with whom she had been raised, she now laments her departure from them. To Rev. Marquis she bids adieu as her "tender, kind, parental Friend," and "eyes suffus'd in mournful tears" weep out their last farewell to the "smiling orphan babes."

Whether her "Song" of April 19, 1807, was written East or West, and to what particular "clergyman" her effusion of March 10, 1807, was addressed, I know not—it was neither Marquis nor M'Farquhar—but her later lines indicate by their more joyous pastoral note that she was amid the green pastures and by the still waters of Donegal; and one poem of this period proves by its title that she was detained on the further—I dare no longer say the York county—shore of the Susquehanna, February, 1807, by the breaking up of the ice.

It may be assumed that the years 1805, '06, and '07 were spent here; but in 1808 we find her back in the town of Washington. Her brother, Robert Anderson, who had gone there, had become a man of distinction and influence. He seems to have been a widower, and she was an indulged member and the respected head of his household. All this and much more she writes with pride and affection to a woman friend, "dear Eliza"—but when she speaks of "D——— as the friend whom she most dearly loves and from the hand of inexorable destiny has separated her forever," I suspect that there is a man in the case—of course.

Romantic to the Last.

Confirmation is given to this suspicion of a romance by a letter of June 29, 1808, to her step-father, Brice Clark, in which she argues at length, expostulates, entreats and coaxes for a divorce. Neither the indulgence of her over-kind brother nor the harmony and affluence of her domestic situation reconcile her to her "unhappy matrimonial connection." Under that shaft she incessantly smarts. Though generally reputed out there to be divorced, she wants to realize it; and especially thus to resent and stamp out a malicious insinuation that some offending of her own bars the way to matrimonial freedom. Regained health and reviving spirits spur her on to break "the lengthening chain of misery through life on account of an unhappy transaction, which is beyond the power of human skill to amend, and from which the law will surely extricate." She argues her case with an eloquence and logic that no modern court could resist; but there were giants in those days—among the Presbyterians. Brice Clark was inex-

orable, and Sally Hastings died as she lived, a "grass widow."

When Robert Anderson was elected (1808) to the Pennsylvania Legislature, which then met in Lancaster, his sister Sally became his faithful correspondent; her letters not only mirrored every detail of domestic life, but related all the little affairs in the town, office, street, field, Courts, &c., that a man far from home and family then would want to hear. Two strong-minded Yankee women who had spoken in the Washington County Court House in that early day excited her mingled admiration and scorn—praise for their intellectual ability,and hate for their poisonous sentiments. She takes frequent occasion to assert her social superiority and the popular appreciation of her literary celebrity, always, however, mindful of domestic and business concerns. Her brother was also Sheriff; and, as such, he kept the jail and had his family residence there. It was somewhat of a political and social centre; though she admits there were ladies of such high degree in Washington that she would not expect them to call upon her at a prison—albeit they admitted her social equality.

That she remained to the last coy and coquettish, her letters attest. To a Mr. Porter she expresses regret that his wife does not possess her own attractions; "she is certainly too quiet." Of the attentions received by herself, she writes: "My train of beaux has, as usual, punctually attended. I have during the last week added a few to their number." Not long before her death she writes: "Our house and office is the most public resort in Washington. I am incessantly engaged with company." Of the wife of a celebrated preacher of that day she observes: "She is a large, unpolished,

very homely country girl. He looks ashamed of her, but she is rich and a gilded dawdy has always charms in the eyes of an Irishman." With that same Bishop Alexander Campbell, founder of the Church of the Disciples, she engaged in a spirited newspaper controversy, in which he found a "foewoman" worthy of his steel.

A Notable Book.

Sally Hastings' venture into the field of literary publication, like that of most amateurs, was likely not profitable. The imprint of her book is 1808, and the William Dickson, publisher, was the old-time editor and proprietor of the Lancaster "Intelligencer" and man of affairs generally hereabouts. Two years later, writing to her stepsister, Betsy Clark, she says, with some bitterness: "Well, after all, Mr. Dickson settled my affairs abruptly. I expect the loss I have sustained through his indolence is considerable at least to me. I pity him; and not so much but that I can spare a little compassion for myself."

"Now dull Democracy adieux,
No more I cloy my muse with you."

No lack of industry, however, in promoting the publication can be imparted to her, if we may infer her energy and pertinacity from the names and addresses of the subscribers printed in the back of the book. That old fashion, now not in vogue, adds much interest to this and like publications. They are arranged alphabetically and grouped in States and Counties—from Allegheny County running far down into Delaware and the Eastern Shore. The notorious Anne Royall, who later travelled these same regions and published her "Black Book" of local and personal notes, wrote people up and down, accordingly as they acceded to or scorned her blackmailing levies;

but Sally Hastings stood on her merits. The list of her patrons is a bede-roll of Presbyterianism. Clergymen and elders, saints and psalm singers, good men and better women, largely of her faith and race, were her subscribers. If Rev. Marquis headed the list in Washington county and Brother Bob Anderson led off with ten copies, he was scarcely ahead of the beloved Parson M'Farquhar, who put his name down for seven. The six columns of Lancaster county names will tell you at a glance how closely she canvassed the Presbyterian sections; the graveyards of Donegal, Leacock, Pequea, Octoraro, Little Britain and Chestnut Level bear them nearly all on mortuary tablets.

Her own grave is unmarked. Wild flowers have bloomed and blown over it and wild birds have sung her threnody for nigh a hundred years. Their fragrance has not been wasted, though there was none to inhale it; their song has not died unheard, though there was none to listen. For the Muse of Poetry ever watches in the shadow of her children—some day Jove calls the Bard to his throne—some day the God of Music and of Love sounds the call which the prophetic ear of Sally Hastings heard when she sang:

But, when the trumpet ſhakes the ſkies,
Bids Earth retire—the Dead ariſe!
Then, deck'd in bright celeſtial bloom,
They'll riſe, immortals, from the tomb;
Then, at a ſolemn ſignal giv'n,
Triumphantly they'll ſoar to heav'n;
There join the happy choir above,
Where all is harmony and love;
Where trees of life immortal grow,
And copious ſeas of pleaſure flow;
Where groves of bliſs, celeſtial bow'rs,
Yield laſting fruits, unfading flow'rs;
Where ſaints and angels ſweetly join,
And tune their harps to love divine;
Where God unveils his ſhining face,
And all the riches of his grace—
Which, to admire, adore, and praiſe,
Demands eternal length of days!!!"

SWEET POLLY'S MAIL.

Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1799.

BY LLOYD MIFFLIN.

In connection with his paper on "Sally Hastings," Poetess, before the Iris Club, Mr. Hensel read the following poem by Lloyd Mifflin, which has never before been published. It was suggested to the author by the incident of coming across some old love letters that passed between his grandparents before their marriage. Joseph Mifflin lived in Drumore and Martha Houston in the Hempfields. They were accustomed to send their missives by the teamsters who passed to and from different parts of the county:

"Wains from Conestoga
"With their merry strings of bells."

The Mail-coach does not come our way,
But nearly every other day
By snowy hill and dells,
I send love-letters to Drumore,
Then oft I listen, at the door,
To hear the slow returning bells—
Upon the horses four!

Great Conestoga wagons take
These letters for the Lovers' sake—
The Teamster never tells!
I bless the wagons o'er and o'er;
The grand, gray horses I adore;
What music like their jingling bells—
The bells upon the four!

No sound did Maiden ever greet
More wished-for, or more soothing sweet
To heart that fluttering swells,
Than wagons coming from Drumore
With longed-for letters to her door
'Mid clanging of the winter bells—
The bells upon the four!

When I am wed, ye Teamsters true
Shall toast me for a night or two
In candle-lit hotels!.....
Ah,. here they come! They near the door!
Teamster this letter—just one more!
And let him hear again your bells—
The bells upon the four!

Your leader's head shall wear this rose!
I kiss the wheeler's velvet nose!
And over hill and dells,
O Teamster! when the wedding's o'er,
'Tis you must haul us to Drumore
With all your joyful, blessed bells—
Nine bells upon the four!
Norwood, Jan. 10, 1905.

An Early Letter by Thaddeus Stevens.

In an address on "Thaddeus Stevens as a Country Lawyer," which I prepared for the Pennsylvania State Bar Association last June, and subsequently elaborated and illustrated for publication in the Lancaster County Historical Society proceedings, I avowed great ignorance of Stevens' early life in Peacham, Vermont, and of the influences which induced him to remove therefrom to York, Pa. A casual meeting, this summer, with Mr. Charles W. Moores, of Indianapolis, Ind., and later most profitable correspondence with him, have enabled me to add a postscript that may be of some value to the future biographer of "The Old Commoner"—for, it is admitted, no complete biography has yet been published of either of the eminent publicists whom Lancaster County contributed to the eventful history of the Nation during the period that saw the Decline and Extinction of Slavery.

It seems there was a family named Merrill resident in Peacham, closely associated with Stevens, whose members had much to do with his later location in life. One of these was Samuel Merrill. He was a native of Peacham, attended the Academy there and subsequently was graduated from

Dartmouth College, likewise the alma mater of Mr. Stevens. He was the senior of Stevens and had taught him either in the Academy or as a tutor in College. He came to Pennsylvania, taught in York and, as I shall later show, induced other noteworthy immigration hither. He removed to Indiana in 1816, the year in which that State was admitted into the Union. He was a member of the Legislature which selected Indianapolis as the capital and chose the name for the capital city. He was elected treasurer of the State about 1820, continuing in that position for twelve years. In 1824 he removed the State archives and property from Corydon, the then capital, to Indianapolis, and lived in Indianapolis until his death, about 1855. After leaving the office of treasurer he helped to organize the State Bank of Indiana, and was its president for many years, and during the later years of his connection with the State Bank, or immediately afterwards, he became president of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, the first railroad in Indiana. The State Bank of Indiana was one of the few State institutions of the period that had a successful career. An account of it has been published in a review maintained under the auspices of the Chicago University, and Henry Clay acknowledged that in his efforts to organize a United States bank he drew largely on Merrill's ideas.

It was this Samuel Merrill to whom Thaddeus Stevens, before he had determined to locate in Pennsylvania, wrote the following letter—now published for the first time:

"Peacham, 5th Jan. 1814.

"Preceptor Merrill!

I am little inclined to philosophize but when addressing you under such a sounding title, I cannot forebare re-

flecting on the partiality of Fortune. Some, her peculiar favorites, she leads along an easy road to wealth and eminence; while others she condemns to crawl in the rough paths of indigent obscurity. But I must desist from this bombast. I have too many trifling particulars to relate. I confess, sir, that my so long neglecting to write to you, would be wholly unpardonable, had it not a necessary cause. When I received your letter I was at Hanover, uncertain where I should remain during the winter. I therefore deferred writing untill I should determine; that I might inform you where to direct a letter. This place is at present greatly alarmed on account of an uncommon epidemic, which it is sincerely hoped will thin the ranks of our old maids and send their withered ghosts (for many of them are reduced to 'vox et preterea nihil') to the dominion of that old tyrant Hymen. I shall not attempt to give you a catalogue of the newly licensed copulations, which have taken place "more humano" since you left here. Ossian's hundred bards would fail in the description. Loomis, and your good friend 'Snorter,' alias, Samuel Ingham, Esq. have left this place for Connecticut. Mr. Chassell's father is dead, and his mother is now dangerously sick. You probably wish to hear concerning the societies at Hanover, although the news may not be of the best kind. Old Josh Holt is president of the Fraternity. Joseph Tracy, Gent. has been loaded with Phi Betian honours. Kent likewise. Fisk is the Social's orator. Sam Wells hopes to be the Frater's, but is loosing popularity. Charles Leverett has entered into the service of the aristocracy, in the capacity of scullion; and it is expected as a reward for his services, he will be Knighted, i. e., elected Phi Betian. Those fawning parasites,

who are grasping at unmerited honors, seem for once to have blundered into the truth, That they must flatter the nobility, or remain in obscurity; that they must degrade themselves by sycophancy, or others will not exalt them. The democracy rule in the Fraternity. The aristocracy make threatening grimaces, but it is only sport for us poor plebeans. Friend Sam, I assure you, you can hardly conceive the anxiety your friends feel for you, in that distant country. (Observe the harmony of the multiplicity of yous, in the foregoing sentence.) Considering you exposed to the invincible charms of those fair Dutch wenches, with their dozen pair of petticoats they are really afraid, that you will loose your heart, or get lost, with Goodie Twiller's ladle, in one corner of their pockets; that filthy lucre will induce you to become the son-in-law to some Ten-Breeches; and then we shall despair of seeing you again; for I suppose it as much impossible to transport thos—'fair lumps of earth' into another climate as it would be to people America with crocodiles, by way of the frozen regions. Unless honored with degredation, I shall graduate next August; and shall, at that time, be under the necessity of entering into a school. If you think I could be sure of employment in Pennsylvania, I should like very well to come into those parts. If you know of any vacancies, and could assist me, without trouble to yourself, you would do me a favour. Be so good as to write me immediately. Inform me whether you intend settling there: Whether you shall continue your studies, et caetera. Present my compliments to your brother and Mr. Blanchard. If they would condescend to write me, I should be highly flattered. I am engaged in the academy during the win-

ter. Mr. Chassell, on account of his health being poor, was not able to attend to it.

"Yours, etc.
"THAD STEVENS."

"Mr. Samuel Merrill."

Trifling and inconsequential as this letter might appear, it is of great importance to a complete biography of Thaddeus Stevens, in that it explains the influences which induced him to come to Pennsylvania; it illustrates the tendency in New England nearly a hundred years ago for young men of promise and education to emigrate; it marks Mr. Stevens with the old time disposition toward gossipy letter writing, and gives an insight into college manners and methods not unlike those of modern days; it discloses that he taught in an academy in Vermont before he came to York; it ranges him thus early in life in the attitude he never abandoned of fellowship with the "poor plebeans" against the "aristocracy"; it betokens a lack of sympathy with the "Pennsylvania Dutch" with whom he later made profitable friendship, and altogether manifests an interest in the fair sex which his later career rather belied. Peacham, by the way, like many small towns in New England, had a famous academy, which figures largely in its several copious histories, and the town library has a bust of Stevens to commemorate his many gifts to it.

It remains to notice the persons to whom in this letter he sends his regards—"Your brother and Mr. Blanchard." Some accounts of Stevens' entry into Pennsylvania narrate that he came here with James Merrill and John Blanchard. This letter proves that they preceded him; they were undoubtedly his forerunners.

Both these Vermonters achieved local fame. John Blanchard became

a noted lawyer in Central Pennsylvania, and his descendants and namesakes attest and perpetuate his social position and his professional eminence.

James Merrill, who was born in Peacham, May 8, 1790, and graduated from Dartmouth in 1812, two years before Stevens, sojourned briefly in York, and thence went to New Berlin, Union County, Pa., the town next in importance to the county seat. He was with Stevens in the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1836, and, like him, voted to give the negro the electoral franchise. He died in 1841, but his sons, Jesse and Louis, in civic and military life, have added lustre to the family escutcheon; and his later descendant, John Houston Merrill, adorns the profession of his forbears. The Linn family, of much eminence in Central Pennsylvania, had representatives named John B. Linn and James Merrill Linn.

I may add that as the elder of the Merrills moved westward to Indiana, so Thaddeus Stevens' older brother, John, became a resident of Indianapolis. His rather ardent biographers have "pointed with pride" to the fact that he "became a judge in the West," but the facts are that he was a cobbler, not a lawyer. He was, it is true, a "side judge" of the old Circuit Court, chosen as lay judges generally were in those days, not for their knowledge of the law, but rather for their ignorance and disregard of it. He was clubfooted, like his more eminent brother, and his shoes, it is related, were better suited for himself than for his customers.

Minutes of November Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., Nov. 2, 1906.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met in its cheerful, congenial surroundings of the Smith Library building on North Duke street, this (Friday) evening, with President Geo. Steinman presiding.

The secretary, Mr. F. R. Diffenderffer, being absent, while attending a meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society, at Allentown, his duties were allotted to D. B. Landis, of the executive committee.

The roll was called, and the minutes of the October meeting, being in order, were dispensed with, on motion, since they have already been printed for the members in the regular pamphlet proceedings.

Final action was then taken on the applicants for membership at the last meeting, and, on motion, the following persons were elected: Mrs. Charles L. Marshall, Lancaster; Miss Elsie Kline Miller, Lititz, and Mr. Edward B. Porter, of Indianapolis.

Under proposals for membership were presented this goodly list of names: Mrs. L. B. Ehler, Lancaster; Mrs. Dr. George R. Rohrer, Lancaster; Miss Anna M. Deaner, Lancaster; Mr. Spencer Gilbert Nauman, Lancaster; and Mr. Evans Wallis Shippen, Meadville, this State. These names were secured by efforts of Messrs. Sener and Diffenderffer, and of Mesdames Clark and Robinson. Under the so-

ciety's rules the applications were laid over for later action at the next meeting.

The librarian, not being present, turned over to the secretary, pro tem. the following excellent donations, which were announced:

Six bound monographs from the Columbia University Library, New York; Bulletins Nos. 13 and 14 Paleontology and four other books from the State Library at Albany, N. Y.; "The Ancestry of Rosalie Morris Johnson," from R. Winder Johnson, Philadelphia, through courtesy of T. Roberts Appel, Esq., of this city; a German arithmetic (Baer imprint) from President Louis Richards, of the Berks County Historical Society, Reading; the Anniversary booklet of the First Presbyterian Church, of this city, by Miss Clark, and a variety of exchanges. The book on the Johnson ancestry is a valuable acquisition to the library, being most handsome in execution and very complete in its family history.

The two papers of the evening were read by Hon. W. U. Hensel and they proved to be interesting, indeed, with new matter on each subject. The first topic took up Thaddeus Stevens' early life while at college in Peacham, prior to his advent to a long career in the Keystone State. A letter from young Stevens was filled with characteristic college phrases, somewhat similar to present-day missives from ambitious students to their friends. A reference to those "fair lumps of earth" revealed a more interested concern for the attractions of the opposite sex than he manifested in later life. The entire paper is another good contribution to the Stevens literature, showing that a more complete biography of the "Great Commoner" will yet be published.

The second paper by Mr. Hensel treated on the life of David Ramsay, who was born in Drumore township, this county, and afterward achieved national fame as an able historian and publicist, being also a physician and surgeon in the army during the Revolutionary times while residing at Charleston, S. C. A letter filled with local references appears in the paper as read, written by Dr. Ramsay to his cousin, James Patterson, 2d, of Little Britain township. A younger brother, Nathaniel Ramsay, Esq.,who was born in the old Lancaster county home, of which a fine framed view was shown to the Society. Both brothers were unusually active in the American cause for freedom.

Miss Martha B. Clark added a few notes and data on the Ramsay family history. After a general discussion of the Hensel papers, a vote of thanks was tendered to that indefatigable gentleman for his latest contributions.

A few other historical questions were propounded by Mesdames Clark and Robinson, which were talked over and further light shed thereon by Messrs. Riddle, Hensel and others.

This completing the actual business on hand, on motion, the society adjourned. There was a good attendance of ladies and gentlemen, together with a few strangers, and all were repaid for being there.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

DECEMBER 7, 1906.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

PENN'S TREATY TREE AND THE FAIRMAN MANSION.

OUR FIRST CIVIL COURTS.

MINUTES OF THE DECEMBER MEETING.

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Penn's Treaty Tree and the Fairman Mansion . . 405
By Mrs. James D. Landis.

Our First Civil Courts 416
By H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.

Minutes of the December Meeting 431

PENN'S TREATY TREE

From time immemorial the tree has played a conspicuous part in the history of the world.

From the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden, the innocent cause of the fall of our first ancestors, down to the mythical political plum tree of the present day, a number of trees may be cited as having become famous. England has her "Royal Oak," of King Charles fame, while in our own country we can lay claim to Boston's "Great Liberty Tree," Hartford's "Charter Oak," the "Great Elm Tree" of Providence, Donegal's "Witness Tree," and the subject of our sketch, "The Treaty Tree."

The Treaty Tree, under whose widespreading branches was formed a treaty of peace between William Penn and the Indians, stood in the Indian town of Shackamaxon, on the west bank of the Delaware river, about half a mile from Philadelphia. It was a tree of magnificent proportions, and was said to be so large that goats ran among its branches. It was blown down during a severe storm on the 3d of March, 1810. The root was wrenched, and the trunk broken off. It fell on Saturday night, and on Sunday many hundreds of people visited it. In its form it was remarkably widespread, but not lofty. Its main branch inclining toward the river measured 150 feet in length; its girth at the base of the trunk was 24 feet; and its age, as indicated by the number of circles of annual growth, was 283 years. As the treaty was supposed to have been formed in 1682, the age of the tree at that time must have been 155 years.

The tree as it was in 1801 was very accurately drawn on the spot by the marine painter, Thomas Birch, who was the son of William Birch, who published the print. Birch said that he drew every branch and twig as he saw it there, and his son, Thomas Birch, of Philadelphia, said that he told him that he bestowed on the drawing the same care that he would have given to a portrait. The large engraving executed by Seymour gives the true appearance of every visible limb.

While it stood, this old Elm formed a canopy for many religious gatherings. Under its shade the Quakers, Methodists, and Baptists often held their summer meetings. When it fell, people vied with each other in their efforts to obtain some of its wood. An armchair was made of it and presented to Doctor Rush. A part of it was constructed into something memorable at Penn's Park in England. Mr. Birch, son of the painter, preserved a frame made of its wood. An inkstand made of its wood was sent to Doctor Roscoe, of Liverpool. On the occasion of Lafayette's visit (1824-25), he was presented by John F. Watson, the historian, with a box composed of pieces of wood, among which was a piece of the Treaty Elm. At the Anniversary of the Landing in 1824, two armchairs made of the historic Elm Tree were presented to John F. Watson. The Commissioners of Kensington constructed for their Town Hall a great armchair of the relic wood. A few branches of the tree were preserved and planted in Philadelphia, and grew to fine proportions. One stood at the center of Clinton street, near Ninth, another on the premises of the Pennsylvania Hospital, since turned into Linden street, while still another stood on the original spot, amid the lumber of the shipyard.

The district of Kensington now occupies the place known as Shackamaxon, an Indian word, meaning "Field of Blood," from a famous fight which once took place there. It forms the thirty-first ward of Philadelphia, bounded east by the Delaware river, south by Norris street, west by Franklin Road as far northwest as Oxford street, then along Oxford to Sixth, Sixth to Lehigh Avenue, along the latter to Frankford Road, and then by that road to Westmoreland street, thence to the Point Road, and thence substantially in the same direction as Westmoreland street to the Delaware river. Here was an Indian town, perhaps a council seat, called Shackamaxon. Here was Fairman's mansion, in front of which was the famous tree under whose branches, it is alleged, William Penn held his famous Indian treaty.

The following extracts are taken from Scharf and Westcott's History of Philadelphia: "We are at a loss when we attempt to assign a particular date to Penn's treaty with the Indians under the great elm tree at Shackamaxon, if such a treaty was ever made. Those who are most familiar with the subject, and have most laboriously studied it in all its bearings, are convinced that the council must have taken place before the meeting of the Legislature at Upland, December, 1682. This seems to have been assumed because no such interview could have occurred before that date in 1682; every day of Penn's time seems to have been otherwise occupied. There is nothing on record to show that there was such a treaty. Penn, always frank in the recital of his affairs, both public and private, seems to have kept an absolute silence in regard to the treaty, both in his correspondence with the

Lords of the Committee of Plantations, and in his letters to his friends at home."

There are, however, many arguments in favor of the supposed treaty, a few of which are as follows:

"First—In Penn's letter to the Indians, sent them through the hands of his commissioners, he expounds to them his principles of universal justice, and of the common brotherhood of mankind, adding that 'I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace,' and that 'I shall shortly come to you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters.'"

About the same time Penn sent to the Indians by Thomas Holmes, his Surveyor General, another letter containing practically the same sentiments. Holmes indorsed the letter as having been read to the Indians by an interpreter, August, 1682. The place of the meeting was not mentioned, but Holmes was at that time living with Thomas Fairman at his house at Shackamaxon, where the Quaker meetings were held, and it is not unlikely that it was in this Indian village that the meeting took place.

"Second—In 1835, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania appointed a committee, consisting of Peter S. Duponceau, Joshua F. Fisher, and Roberts Vaux, to report a communication of John S. Watson, of Bucks Co., in reference to 'the Indian treaty for the lands now the site of Philadelphia, and the adjacent country.' Their conclusion was that, while no treaty was ever negotiated at Shackamaxon for the purchase of lands, there was a solemn council held there for the purpose of sealing friendship between the Indians and the proprietary. They

founded their opinion upon certain expressions in speeches of Lieutenant Governor Keith to the Susquehanna Indians in 1717 and 1722, and by Governor Gordon in 1728-29. They are firm in their belief that such a treaty or conference did take place, probably in November, 1682, at Shackamaxon, under the great elm tree which was blown down in 1810.

"Third—Tradition has found the place of the treaty, named those present, tells us that Penn came there in a barge, and wore a blue sash. A belt of wampum has come from the Penn family, which, it is claimed, was presented to the proprietary on that occasion. The great Tamanend, or Tamany, was chief spokesman on that day, and his dress and emblems of kingly power are accurately described."

Tradition assures us that on the occasion of the Great Treaty, the Founder was accompanied by the following persons: His cousin and secretary, Sir William Markham, in the rich costume of the English Service; Holmes, his Surveyor General; the Swedish interpreter, Lawrence, or Lasse Cock, and Symcoe, Haigee, Taylor and Pierson, of the Council. Three nations of the aborigines had their representatives in this group: The Lenni Lenape, or Delawares; the Mengwe, or Six Nations; and the Gawanese and the Conestogas. There were, besides, a few Dutch and Swedish traders.

Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia" says, "James Read, Esquire (a great observer of passing events), a nephew of James Logan's wife, and who died at the age of seventy-one years, used to say of West's painting of the Treaty that the English characters severally present were all intended to be resemblances, and were so far true that he (Mr. Reed) could name

them all. He fully believed the treaty was held at the Elm, and Mrs. Logan has heard him express his regret that Benjamin West should have neglected truth so far as to have omitted the river scenery."

The picture that was painted by West in England contained no appearance of the tree, but we may rest assured that, although Mr. West did not use the image of the tree in his picture, he, nevertheless, regarded it as the true locality, for he afterwards related what he heard from Colonel Symcoe regarding the protection of the tree during the Revolutionary War, and while the British were stationed at and near Philadelphia. This tree was in danger of being cut down by parties sent out in search of firewood, but Colonel Symcoe, who had command of the district in which it grew (from a regard for William Penn and the interest he took in the history connected with the tree), ordered a guard of British soldiers to protect it.

In 1882 the Penn Society erected near the site of the original tree, to protect its memory, a marble monument with the following four inscriptions on its sides:

William Penn and the Indian Nations 1682 Unbroken Faith	Pennsylvania founded 1681 By Deeds of Peace

William Penn Born 1644 Died 1718	Raised by the Penn Society A. D. 1827 to mark the site of the Great Elm Tree

Although we are not able to find an exact picture of the Great Treaty, we, nevertheless, can form our own mental picture from the description of a treaty which Penn wrote to the Free Society of Traders. He says: "Their order is this—the King sits

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in the middle of an half moon and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and, in the name of his King, saluted me; then took me by the hand, and told me he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that what he should say was the King's mind, etc. While he spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile. When the purchase was made, great promises passed between us of friendship and good neighborhood, and that we should live in love so long as the sun gave light. This done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamachers, or kings, first, to tell what was done; next to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly to live in peace with me and my people. At every sentence they shouted, and in their own way said, 'Amen.'"

With this much in our minds it will not be a very difficult task to complete the mental picture. For the foreground we have the beautiful river, dotted here and there with boats, glistening in the autumn sunlight; for the background, the Fairman Mansion, the sloping green banks, and the Treaty Tree, its leaves already painted by Jack Frost, and looking in its red and yellow like an Indian princess. More color is given to the picture by the historic blue sash of William Penn and the gay red coat of William Markham. The homely, well-worn clothes of the Dutch and Swedes are offset by the gayly-painted savages in their beads and feathers. Let us not forget to add the graceful column of smoke as it winds its way upward from the pipe of peace.

This treaty formed between the going and the coming race was, according to Voltaire, "the only treaty which has not been sworn to, and which has not been broken."

"How beautiful the scene portrayed above,
A treaty framed in Justice, Truth and Love!
Our City's Founder and the peaceful Friends
Stoop to no subterfuge to gain their ends;
While with unswerving confidence, around
Their Indian brethren occupy the ground.
This incident a maxim may afford,
And prove our Penn was mightier than the sword."

THE FAIRMAN MANSION.

The imposing and venerable-looking brick edifice known as the Fairman Mansion stood on the banks of the Delaware in what is now Kensington in Philadelphia, and was constructed in 1702 for the use of Thomas Fairman, the deputy of Thomas Holmes, the Surveyor General. It was taken down in April, 1825, chiefly because it encroached on the range of the present street. A brick was found in the wall, on which was marked,

"Thomas Fairman, September, 1702."

This house has become famous from the fact that it was on its grounds that the famous Treaty of Peace between William Penn and the Indians was negotiated. It has been the home of many notable families, and was once desired as the country seat of William Penn himself, a place highly appropriate for him who made his treaty there. Governor Evans, after leaving his office as Governor, lived there for some time. Afterwards it became the residence of Governor Palmer, and for this reason it is sometimes called the "Governor's House,"

a name which it long retained. Mr. Thomas Hopkins, a noted Philadelphian, occupied the mansion for fifty years.

Penn's conception of this beautiful place is well expressed in his letter of 1708 to James Logan, saying: "If John Evans (the late Governor) leaves your place, then try to secure his plantation; for I think from above Shackamaxon to the town is one of the pleasantest situations upon the river for a Governor; where one sees and hears what one will and where one will, and yet have a good deal of the sweetness and quiet of the country. And I do assure thee if the country would settle upon me six hundred pounds per annum I would hasten over the following summer. Cultivate this among the best Friends." From this we see that Penn was not averse to returning to Pennsylvania to live, especially if the six hundred pounds were forthcoming.

The Fairman Mansion was once a favorite meeting place of the Friends, or Quakers, as the minutes of the Friends' Meeting at Abington prove. Penn himself spent his first winter in Philadelphia in this house.

Thomas Fairman is mentioned in history in connection with Penn's arrival in Philadelphia. There is no positive information which shows at what time Penn arrived in that city. The record of the Society of Friends says: "At a Monthly Meeting the 8th of the 9th month, 1682: At this time Governor William Penn and a multitude of Friends arrived here and erected a city called Philadelphia, about half a mile from Shackamaxon, where meetings, etc., were established. Thomas Fairman, at the request of the Governor, removed himself and family to Tacony, where there was also a

meeting appointed to be kept, and the ancient meeting of Shackamaxon removed to Philadelphia, from which also other meetings were appointed in the Province of Pennsylvania." It has been construed to mean that Penn arrived in Philadelphia on the 8th of September. If that is correct, he must have gone to Fairman's Mansion on the same day, although it appears from letters of Penn from Upland that he did not go to Fairman's house until February or March, 1683.

Robert Fairman, of London, a brother of Thomas Fairman, the surveyor, in a letter in 1711 speaks of the house at the Treaty Tree built of brick in 1702 as the locality of the said Thomas Fairman's former house, he having been dead some time, and his widow being then (1711) on the premises.

The present Treaty Island, which belongs to New Jersey, and lies in the bed of the Delaware river opposite Kensington, was patented as early as 1684 by Thomas Fairman under the name of Shackamaxon Island. It was afterwards sold to a man named Petty and took the name of Petty's Island.

That Fairman was a surveyor of some note may be inferred from a number of warrants to him and directing him to lay out certain lands. William Penn, by warrant of the 14th of the 12th month, 1683, directed 200 acres of land to be laid out in Germantownship, and a city lot where he (the Proprietary) should direct; 7th of the 2d month, 1688, Thomas Fairman was ordered to lay it out, as appears by note on the warrant.

At the council held at Philadelphia, October 28, 1696, it was ordered that a warrant be directed from the Governor to Thomas Fairman, Surveyor, to lay out the King's road from William's Landing into the King's great road that leads to Philadelphia.

If we consult the early Colonial records of Pennsylvar'a we will find that Thomas Fairman, although a member of the peaceable Society of Friends, or Quakers, was agg-essive and belligerent, for in severa' instances we find him figuring in cases before the Council. On one occasion we find that a petition of one Robert Jeffs was read, requesting relief against Thomas Fairman's forcible entry into his house, and on another occasion the petition of Thomas Fairman against Captain Thomas Holmes, Surveyor General, was presented to the Council. On March 16, 1708, Thomas Fairman presented to the Board a petition complaining against one John Morris, of the county of Bucks, about the payment for a parcel of land.

That Fairman was in the wrong in the first instance was shown by the fact that the Council decided against him, at a meeting one month later, when it was unanimously ordered that Robt. Jeffs should have peaceable admission and possession into his premises.

However, in Fairman's case there might have been extenuating circumstances, for in his capacity of surveyor it is not unlikely that he would sometimes meet with opposition. But whatever may have been the character of Thomas Fairman, he was a notable and forceful figure in the early history of Pennsylvania, and has preserved his name to posterity by giving it to the famous Fairman mansion.

OUR FIRST CIVIL COURTS

The first five terms of the Common Pleas Courts of Lancaster county were held at Conestogoe, at John Postlethwait's Tavern, now the Fehl property, on the Conestogoe and Philadelphia Great Road (now at this point called the "Long Lane"), near Rock Hill. This road was regularly used as early as 1714, for "the petition filed in Lancaster County Quarter Sessions Court to 'relay' it out in 1734 sets out that it has been in use for twenty years."

These five terms were first Tuesday of August, 1729; first Tuesday of November, 1729; February 3d, 1730; May 5th, 1730, and August 4th, 1730. They met on Tuesday because of the slow modes of travel and the long distances from the then boundaries of the county, which required all day Monday to reach the county seat; and our pious forefathers, of course, would not begin their journey from home to Court on Sunday.

The next Court, after the last just mentioned, was held at Lancaster "the third day of November, in the fourth year of His Majesty's Reign, Anno Dom. 1730."

The number of our terms of early Courts and the time at which they were held suggest at once how thoroughly English our early jurisprudence was. From time immemorial England had four great terms of Court—Hilary, Easter, Trinity and Michaelmas. Our February Term was held at nearly the same time as the old English Hilary Term; our May Term corresponded to the ancient

Easter Term; our August Term was a postponed Trinity Term of Great Britain, so postponed on account of harvest; and our November Term always met the same week the English Michaelmas Term was in progress.

We must remember, too, that the procedure of the Courts was much more drastic than now. Procedure, also, was built upon and followed the old forms and customs of early English law. We shall find many curious differences between the experiences and requirements of the plaintiffs as well as of the defendants of those times and the experiences of litigants in our day.

What these differences were will be shown as typical suits appearing on the old dockets are discussed, explained and analyzed. However, it may be laid down generally that an arrest was usually the first gentle reminder nearly every defendant received that he was sued, even in ordinary suits to recover simple debts. This was necessary because, as defendants were thrown in jail for not paying a judgment, recovered in Court against them, it was necessary in the beginning to compel them to remain in jail till the case was tried, or to find bail, with condition that the bondsman would see that the defendant would pay the judgment and costs recovered against him or appear and go to jail if he could not do so.

To-day, of course, if a defendant cannot pay a debt, that is the end of it, if he has not over $300 worth of property. If he has, the property over $300 is taken, and he is generally immune forever afterwards.

The first record entered in the first docket of our county's earliest Courts is:

"Att a court of Comon Pleas held at John Postlethwait's In Conestoga the

first Tuesday in August in the third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George King of Great Britain, ffrance and Ireland, Defender of the faith etc 1729.

"Before John Wright, Tobias Kendricks, Andrew Cornish, Thomas Read and Samuel Jones Esqrs., his Majestry's justices of same Court."

The President Justice, or Judge of the Courts, was John Wright, Esq., from 1729 until August term, 1741, at which time Thomas Edwards became President Judge, as Governor George Thomas, in the spring of 1741, refused to give John Wright a new commission as Justice because Wright opposed Gov. Thomas' war policy.

There were eleven suits entered to the first term of our Courts (i. e., Aug. Term, 1729). They were as follows:

1.	John Brubaker vs. John Jones	The deft appd—imp and rule etc" Tho: Parrin 10 L— O—O. Judgment, Sub Conditione."

This abbreviated record of the suit means that the defendant appeared and demanded an imparlance and a rule allowing the same was granted; that he offered Thomas Parrin as a bail, who was held in ten pounds in a bond conditioned that John Jones, this defendant,would pay the judgment and costs recovered against him or surrender himself to jail if he could not pay the same; and that if he did not do either the bail would forfeit the ten pounds, which in Pennsylvania money was about $32.50.

Afterwards judgment was entered against the defendant, for some default, as it does not appear there was any trial by jury, on the broken condition of the contract or obligation which the defendant owed. The words

"sub conditione" show that the suit was on a note or obligation to pay money, with a condition annexed. As the record ends here, it is evident the judgment was paid for, otherwise defendant would have been imprisoned and the record would show that fact.

The bail and the imparlance here mentioned are to be explained, to make the record clear to us. There were two kinds of bail employed in civil suits in these early times in the province of Pennsylvania—bail below and bail above. Bail below was given at the same time the Sheriff served the writ on the defendant and arrested him. This was a bail with good security given to the Sheriff, conditioned that the defendant would appear in Court at the return day, as it is called, and make answer or defense of some sort to the plaintiff's action. This return day was at least fifteen days after the writ was entered. This bail below, as it was called, or bail to the Sheriff, was not required in all cases, but where it was required, if the defendant could not give it he went to jail till return day. And then other steps were taken. This was simply bail that he would appear.

Bail above was given on or within four days after return day. That was the limit of time allowed the defendant to appear and it was generally entered at the same time he appeared. It was given to the Court and provided that the defendant would pay the judgment recovered against him and costs or surrender himself to prison to serve imprisonment for debt. This bail was demanded in all suits. The first or bail below was not. So sometimes a defendant's liberty was not disturbed from the time suit was entered until four days after return day, which might be three or four weeks from

entry of suit. But if he did not appear and put in bail above at that time he was then arrested. But when bail below was demanded, as in suits for damages, etc., he was arrested as soon as the suit was brought and the Sheriff could find him. In fact, this entry of bail below is technically the entering appearance.

It was the second kind of bail mentioned, bail at return day, that was entered in this first case on our docket, viz., Brubaker vs. Jones.

The imparlance, which the abbreviation "Imp" denotes, is explained by Blackstone thus: "Before he (the defendant) defends.....he is entitled to demand one imparlance or licentia laquendi, and may before he pleads have more time granted by consent of Court to see if he can end the matter amicably, without further suit, by talking with the plaintiff, a practice which is supposed to have arisen from a principle of religion in obedience to that precept of the Gospel, 'Agree with thine adversary quickly whilst thou art in the way with him.'"

Thus, an imparlance is a demand for more time to answer, and that is what it means in the case we are studying, above mentioned. It had the effect, however, of shutting out objections to the jurisdiction and to all flaws that may appear in the plaintiff's, the Prothonotary's or the Sheriff's action—all irregularities—for by imparling, which often was a delay to next term of Court, the defendant was held to admit that there were no objections to the form of the suit and no irregularities. After imparlance he was limited in defense to making a perfect answer and could not throw the plaintiff out of Court on a technicality.

It is a little surprising to observe that this very first suit entered in

Lancaster county was brought by one whose name very strongly proclaims him a member of a family which has always beer of a non-resistant church, John Brubaker.

The next suit is as follows:

2	John Hough vs. James ffinlow	non pros for want of a Decl &.

This needs no explanation, because by simply expanding the abbreviations into complete words it means the suit was adjudged and decreed by the Court to be abandoned because the plaintiff did not file a declaration nor press it further.

The next was:

3	Hugh Jones vs. Peter Jones	The Deft Appd— Imp and Rule &c. Judgment agreed.

All that appears in the record of this suit has been explained.

The fourth suit is:

4	Hugh Jones vs. Swan Rambo	The deft appd—imp and rule &c The deft confesseth judgment for debt and costs. Agreed.

The fifth suit is:

5	John Taylor vs Chicoconicon	Sur Attachment— Sd Court Continued upon ye motion of the pft councel—the goods of ye deft attached being perishable the court orders yt ye sheriff sell ye party's goods and ye money retain in his hands till further order— ordered ye sheriff pay the money to ye plaintiff, he paying ye fees."

The peculiar name of the defendant leads very strongly to the conclusion that he was an Indian. This is the first mention of appearance by attorney.

The next suit is:

Ruth Cloud Admx &c 6 vs. John Lawrence	The deft appd—Imp & Rule John Lawrence 20 £—The Garner 20 £ SP. B Rule that ye defendant plead by Rule Day August Term continued on sd former rule. May T 1731 and now on motion of ye plff council——to qui die dicit.

The next is:

Martin Kendrick 7 vs. John McDaniell	John Swift in £14 —0—0 for deft., to appre John Swift Sp Bail in this action appears and delivers the deftd into custody who is accordingly committed. But now Edm Cartlidge becomes Sp Bail for the deft and he is discharged out of custody and his appearance is accepted Imp and Rule &c Edm. Cartlidge in £14 2d Continuance Judgment for debt and costs.

The next suit is:

John Powell 8 vs Willm Hutchinson	The sheriff ret, Cepi Corpus—Bail Bond ni si. 2d Continuance Judgment for want of plea confirmed.

The "cepi corpus" means the body of the defendant is taken and held and the "bail bond ni si" means that a bond is taken for his release, which will be done, unless the bond is objected to as to form or sufficiency.

The next suit is:

9	John Jones vs Joshua Lowe	Jos Low £20—0—0 Ed Cartlidge £24—0—0 for the deft as sp. B. J: Growdon Appd for ye deft—Imp and Rule. 2d continued
	Issue	Non assumpsit—et de hoc &c Et querens siliter

This is the first mention of any attorney by name, appearing for a party in our Courts.

As to this suit, the following explanations are necessary: The "non assumpsit et de hoc &c" in English is "he did not so promise and as to this, &c." The full meaning is that the defendant did not make the promise sued on and as to this fact he puts himself upon the country—that is, he asks to go before a jury. The "Et querens siliter" is what is called a replication or a rejoinder by the plaintiff and means "and concerning that question the plaintiff does the like"—that is, also appeals to a jury. Siliter is a contraction of similiter. And this is then the issue formed that the jury is to try.

The next suit is:

10	Jacob Real vs Robert Brown	Robt Brown £20—0—0 Robt Black 20—0—0 Sp. B. The deft appears—Imp & Rule &c Judgment for the deft.

And the last suit is:

11	Richard Grafton vs John Jarney Miles	1st Court Cont. Some of the goods of the defendant attached being perishable the court orders the sheriff to sell the same and the money arising by said sale to retain in his hands till further order 2d Continuance 3d cont

Judgment for said sum with costs. Ordered the sale of the remainder of the goods attached, by Robert Barber, Edmund Cartlidge and Sa. Blunston or any two of them, who are appointed to audit the accounts and dispose of the moneys as ye law directs.

May Term 1730—pursuant to an order of court of Feby. Term last we Samuel Blunston & Robert Barber auditors appointed to sell and dispose of the goods of ye said John Jarney Miles Do make report that we have accordingly made sale of sd goods and have paid into the hands of ye sd plff for the deft's use, no other creditors appearing or making any claim to said effects, of ye deft, the sum of £48—2—1, being ye whole sum arising from the sale of such part of ye effects of sd Miles as hitherto have come into our hands and possession by virtue of ye aforesaid attachment, (ye costs of suit only deducted, as may appear by a report signed by said plaintiff and to ye court here produced) and we pray confirmation of our proceedings and allowance as auditors for our trouble.

Our county fathers thus, with a great deal of the English jurisprudence technicality, conducted their suits.

This is the end of the first Term of Court. The next Term was also held at Postlethwait's, November, 1729. The heading of the the Term is as follows:

"Att a Court of Comon Pleas held at John Postlethwait's the first Tuesday in November in the third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George ye 2d King of Great Britain, Ffrance and Ireland, defender of the faith etc 1729.

"Before John Wright, Tobias Hendricks, Thomas Edwards, Andrew Cornish, and Andrew Galbraith, Esqs., his Majestry's justices of sd Court."

At this term thirteen suits were entered—four of them by capias, eight by summons and one by attachment. Suit by capias is one in which the defendant is arrested forthwith—

suit by summons one in which he is summoned or ordered to appear at a certain date; and attachment one begun by process on defendant's goods.

Some of the points of interest and instruction in these cases are as follows:

In No. 5 the attachment case, being a suit by John Minshall against Leonard Milburn, this appears as part of the record: "The sum of £1—19s—5d being attached in ye hands of John Jones, of Manheim, garnishee of the defendant, it is ordered the same be paid to ye auditors before said judgment."

I am not aware of the name "Manheim" appearing earlier than this, and whether it was located where the present Manheim stands I cannot tell. If so, Manheim is as old as Lancaster as an early village.*

Several of the parties litigant appearing in these suits appear prominently in the pioneer history of the province and county about this time.

Joshua Low, the first Coroner of the county, appears as a defendant in a capias suit, and was arrested. He appears as one of the three trustees to sell another defendant's goods, attached in another suit. He appears as plaintiff in a suit by summons, and as defendant in another suit. John Minshall, at whose house, at the head of Octoraro Creek, the surveyors began the artificial line to survey off Lancaster county, is plaintiff in the attachment suit in this Term.

Isaac Miranda, plaintiff in another suit, we find by the Colonial Records,

*[It is more than probable that this reference is to Manheim township, and not to the present town of Manheim. Even if the latter was the place alluded to, it would not be proof that Manheim is as old as Lancaster, because there is plenty of evidence to show that there was a settlement at Lancaster fully ten years before 1729.—Editor.]

the next year was accused of stealing goods from the Indians.

John Taylor, of the famous Taylor family, first surveyor of the upper parts of Chester county, is plaintiff in two suits. Samuel Blunston, one of the surveyors to set off Lancaster county and also a Justice of the Peace, who it seems did not serve for a couple of years, and Robert Barber, first Sheriff of Lancaster county, appear as auditors in one of these suits. One of the suits was brought by Martin Kendrick, the father of the Manor township Kendig family. This suit was a summons against Samuel Taylor and the record simply is, the defendant appeared and agreed to judgment.

The next Term was held February 3, 1730, at Conestoga, before Tobias Hendricks, Andrew Cornish, Samuel Jones, Caleb Pearce and Andrew Galbraith. Why Wright's name does not appear I cannot tell. To this Term only seven suits were brought, three by capias, three by summons and one by attachment. The first suit was brought by the owner of the "Court House" himself, John Postlethwait, against John Phipps, and it was an attachment.

The record of the suit says: "At the request of the plaintiff setting forth that a horse being part of the attached effects and kept at considerable expense may be exposed to immediate sale for the advantage of the deft. Orders P Cur (by the Court) the said horse be sold by said Sheriff and have the money arising by ye sale at next Court. August Term 1730 Judgment." It looks very much as if this was a debt for horse board at Postlethwait's Hotel.

The only other suit that is interesting is the last one. It is brought by Isaac Miranda, who later became quite

famous in Indian matters, against James Letort, the early Indian trader of Conestoga. This suit was for £ 201 —6 s —8 d., with costs of suit, and by warrant of attorney addressed to Jos. Growden, plaintiff's attorney. Letort confessed judgment for the same. This was likely a suit for money due in transactions connected with the Indian trade, for wholesale quantities of skins, etc., for £ 201 in those days was equal to several thousand dollars now.

I am not sure whether this attorney was Jos. Growden, Sr., or Jr. It is likely it was the great Jos. Growden, Sr., of Bucks county, several years Speaker of Assembly, always leader of the faction against David Lloyd's faction and in 1734 Attorney General of the province. One thing is certain—he was prominent. He appeared as attorney in three of the seven suits entered this term. In the list of attorneys found in the Lancaster county rules of Court, p. 153, he stands as the first attorney of the list admitted in 1729—the first attorney of Lancaster county. Thus, it is likely he practiced here, but lived in Bucks county or Philadelphia.

One can imagine the trips on horse back he made from Philadelphia through Thos. More's (now Downington), Gap(in the mountains), the Mennonite Village, now Strasburg, Big Springs to Postlethwait's, by the Great Conestoga Road, through the woods to attend Court, which road, as the survey shows, lay through these points.

Growdon's original signature appears to the confession of judgment in this suit. The only other attorney whose name appears at this Term is Ralph Asheton, as attorney for John Lawrence, who brought a suit against Ruth Cloud. Growdon represented Ruth. This suit was on a bond. Law-

rence had lent Ruth some money, it appears, and she refused to repay it. The record informs us that Growdon, her attorney, demanded sight of the bond or oyer, as it is called, which his client complained she had not yet seen, and the Court ordered it to be so done, and that she should plead in twenty-eight days after seeing the bond or judgment would be entered.

At this term the custom first began of attorneys writing their names on the margin of the suits, indicating that they entered appearance for their clients. However, the initial of the surname only was written.

The next term was held, May 5, 1730, at Conestoga, and John Wright's and Thomas Edward's names now appear among the justices again. At this term eighteen suits were brought, ten by summons and eight by capias. Asheton, Growdon and John Emerson's are the only names of attorneys which appear. Growdon's name appears in eight of these suits, Asheton's in four and Emerson's in one. Emerson does not appear in the public affairs of the province until 1734. At that date he was owner of the Blue Rock Ferry and from that time onward served in the Assembly and took part in Cresap's War. He died in 1736.

Isaac Miranda, Joshua Low, John Mitchell, John Meilin and the Taylors are among the most prominent litigants at this term. Among those entering bail for defendants in the suits at this term are Peter Newcomat, John Ryal, John Powell and John Bumgarner. The only thing of note in this term is that in two of the suits the defendants confessed judgment and went to jail, then assigned all their property to Robert Barber, the Sheriff, for the benefit of all creditors and were discharged.

The next and last Term of Court held at Conestoga was that held August 4, 1730, before Tobias Hendricks, Andrew Cornish, Caleb Pearce, Andrew Galbraith and Samuel Jones. Wright's name is not inserted in the caption of this Term.

Fifteen suits were entered to this Term. The first one was by James Logan, secretary of the proprietors and of the province, against James Letort, the troublesome French Indian trader of Conestoga. The record of this suit is very short, namely: "The defendant appears and confesseth judgment for £ 448, 18 s, 6 d, with costs of suit and release of errors." To this confession James Letort's actual signature appears and it is indeed both very curious and characteristic. It is worth preserving. This likely was a suit for purchase money for land. It was brought by James Logan, one of the Penn family land commissioners, and the large amount indicates this.

The only other notable suit to this term is that of Isaac Miranda and Company vs. George Stuart. Miranda and Company were in the Indian trade business on a large scale and George Stuart, in 1730, was elected one of the Assemblymen for Lancaster county. He was again elected in 1732, but died in office in 1733. This was a damage suit and a jury of inquisition sat and found damages for the plaintiff, but in 1731 the finding was set aside and a new writ issued. Growdon was attorney for Miranda and Company and Emerson for George Stuart, the defendant. At this Term Asheton appears in eight suits as attorney, Growdon in five and Emerson in three.

John Bumgarner, Caleb Baker, John Powell, John Jones and Thomas Eastland appear as special bail for some of the defendants and Emanuel Car-

penter, James Mitchell and J. Postlethwait were appointed to audit the claims of the different creditors, who generally flocked in on a defendant when sued, all clamoring to share with the plaintiff the defendant's property attached. Emanuel Carpenter was elected one of the assessors in 1731, was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1737, road viewer, etc., etc., and James Mitchell held various offices, collector, Sheriff, Assembly, etc., and was active in the Cresap War.

And this ends the list of suits at Conestoga, for at the next session, November 3, 1730, the several Courts of the county were held at Lancaster. The litigation at Conestoga was neither heavy nor extensive, there being only five Terms and the whole list of suits numbering only sixty-four. We know that the Court House was the Tavern of John Postlethwait, but just what and where the jail was, to wnich, as these suits record, defendants were committed, we do not know definitely. I have heard it said that large stones, apparently the foundation of an old building, are found in the garden of Mr. Hiram Warfel, only a few hundred feet from the Fehl property, formerly Postlethwait's. And it is claimed that the jail was there. There seems to be no proof of it, however.

Minutes of December Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., Dec. 7, 1906.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met statedly to-night (Friday) in the parlor of the A. Herr Smith Library Building, on North Duke street, President Steinman in the chair. The meeting was called to order, and the roll-call of officers proceeded with. The minutes of the November meeting were laid before the members and adopted.

The following persons whose names had been presented for membership at the previous meeting were then elected: Charles Lee Meyers, of New York City; Mrs. Dr. George R. Rohrer, Miss Anna M. Deaner, Mr. Spencer Gilbert Nauman, all of Lancaster, and Mr. Evans Wallis Shippen, of Meadville, Pa., and Mrs. L. B. Ehler. The following applications for membership were presented by the Secretary: Miss Emma Powers, Rev. Charles E. Roth, J. Guy Eshleman and Miss Emma Anna Carter, all of Lancaster, and Phares G. Sweigart, of Ephrata; Edward S. Thompson, of Columbia, and Mr. E. W. Schultze, of New Britain, Conn. These names lie over under the rules until the next meeting, when they will be acted upon.

The donations to the Society were as follows: Framed pictures of the Fairman Mansion and Treaty Tree, at Philadelphia; Centre Square and Girard College by Mrs. James D. Landis; photographs of Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, and James

Burd, by Edward S. Thompson, of Columbia; autograph letter from Governor George B. Porter to several Lancaster gentlemen, by Mr. George Hoffmeier; oration on James Wilson, presented by Mr. Andrew Carnegie; copy of the Centennial edition of the Lancaster Intelligencer, by Mr. A. K. Hostetter; pamphlet on Father Rasle, from the New England Catholic Historical Society; Proceedings of the American-Jewish Historical Society; Proceedings of the Kansas State Historical Society; Journal of Explorations of John Lincklaean, and Autobiography of Francis Adrian von der Kemp, both from Mrs. Fairchild, of New York city; some papers of the late Amos Slaymaker, Esq., presented by his executor, and invitation to services of the removal of the body of James Wilson to Philadelphia. On motion, the thanks of the Society were tendered to all the foregoing-mentioned donors for their gifts.

The first paper of the evening was then read by its author, Mrs. James D. Landis, on "The Treaty Tree and the Fairman Mansion," a picture of which she presented to the Society. This was a careful and very full study of both of these prominent objects of our provincial period,and brought together all the known facts bearing on both. It was listened to very attentively, and received hearty applause at its conclusion. Dr. Dubbs took the floor, and, in a talk of considerable length, on the subject of the essay, also spoke of the early Swedish settlements on the Delaware, founded long before Penn came to Pennsylvania, and declared these honest and worthy Swedes had never received from Penn,

or historians generally. the credit that is due them.

H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., read the second paper of the evening, on "Lancaster County's First Civil Courts and Lawsuits." This was virtually a transcript of the first Common Pleas Court Record of the county, the original docket of which was shown to and examined by the members. It was a small,unbound, paper-covered record, of curious interest. Mr. Eshleman called over the more important cases that were tried at the first five terms of the Court, and commented thereon. A. F. Hostetter, Esq., commented in a speech of considerable length on the value of the paper as tending to preserve the story of the ancient record, as did also Dr. Dubbs.

The thanks of the Society were tendered to both essayists for their able papers.

On motion, it was ordered that, inasmuch as the Society was now possessed of much valuable property,some insurance should be taken out to cover the same.

A minute on the death of Miss Mary Ross, a member of the Society, and a granddaughter of George Ross,a signer of the Declaration of Independence from this county, was presented.

The Secretary read a letter from the Secretary of the Federation of Historical Clubs of Pennsylvania, in which it was stated that the second annual meeting of that body would be held in the rooms of the Dauphin County Historical Society on January 3, 1907, and inviting the Lancaster County Historical Society to send delegates to the same. On motion, all the last year's delegates were selected to represent the Society.

Under the new Constitution, nominations for officers to preside over the Society during 1907 had to be made at this meeting. This was done by the unanimous nomination of all the old officers save that of Secretary, which was held open temporarily.

There was a good attendance of members, and Friday night's meeting closed one of the most successful seasons the Society has ever had.

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